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The Burial of the Apprentice

A TRUE STORY FROM LIFE
IN A UNION WORK SHOP

AND OTHER ESSAYS ON PRESENT POLITICAL AND
SOCIAL PROBLEMS

BY
HENRY W. CHEROUNY

NEW YORK
THE CHEROUNY PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY
17-27 Vandewater Street
1900

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BY

HENRY W. CHEROUNY.

TO THE
BROTHERHOOD OF PRINTERS,
WITH WHOM I HAVE WORKED AS APPRENTICE,
JOURNEYMAN AND MASTER,
THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
AS THE RESULT OF CAREFUL STUDY AND LIFELONG
EXPERIENCE IN THE TRADE.

HENRY W. CHEROUNY.



PREFACE.

THIS book contains a number of papers suggesting the abolition of the custom of determining the terms of labor through verbal contracts concluded by individuals and the introduction of the system of settling the conditions of labor through formal contracts concluded by unions of employing and working craftsmen.

These essays were written and published between the years 1885 and 1900, and as they present one subject considered from different points of view, the reader will necessarily find repetitions here and there. But the author trusts that even scholars will pardon this apparent defect, as it is neither uninteresting nor unprofitable to contemplate an idea which was elaborated in different moods under various circumstances and is presented in various forms.

HENRY W. CHEROUNY.

New York, May, 1900.

CONTENTS.

FIRST BOOK—The Burial of the Apprentice.

	PAGE.
I. THE APPRENTICE AT HOME.....	9
THE PASTOR'S LECTURE.....	9
THE FATHER'S LECTURE.....	11
II. THE APPRENTICE IN THE WORKSHOP.....	17
WAGES	17
EMPLOYER AND APPRENTICE.....	22
FOREMAN AND APPRENTICE.....	25
JOURNEYMAN AND APPRENTICE.....	28
TRADEUNION AND APPRENTICE.....	30
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CHAPEL.....	33
III. SOCIETY AND THE APPRENTICE.....	39
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF APPRENTICES.....	39
ON TRADE SCHOOLS TO SUPPLANT APPRENTICESHIPS.....	41
TRADE SCHOOLS AS MEANS TO INCREASE THE SUPPLY OF LABOR	45
ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TRADES.....	47
TRUE APPRENTICESHIP.....	49
ON TRADE SCHOOLS TO SUPPLEMENT APPRENTICESHIP.....	51
HIGH TRADE SCHOOLS.....	55
THE FIRST PRINTERS' TRADE SCHOOL IN NEW YORK.....	58
IV. THE APPRENTICE IN THE MARKET.....	59
THE FIRM OF HOOKS AND CROOKS.....	59
THE DECALOGUE ON THE STATUS OF LABOR.....	62
THE LIBERTY OF MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT.....	64
CITY LIFE.....	67
V. THE END OF THE APPRENTICE.....	70
THE STRIKE.....	70
THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.....	76
THE LAST RITES.....	79

SECOND BOOK—On the Political Aspect of Tradeunionism.

	PAGE.
I. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND TRADEUNIONISM..	83
THE CATECHISM OF DEMOCRACY.....	83
ARTICLE I.—ON EQUALITY.....	85
ARTICLE II.—ON LIBERTY.....	87
ARTICLE III.—ON MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.....	88
ARTICLE IV.—ON ROTATION IN OFFICE.....	90
TRADEUNIONISM IS NOT A NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY.....	92
RETROSPECT	97
OUTLOOK	99
II. THE ERRORS OF ORGANIZED LABOR.....	102
THE PRINCIPLE OF HOME RULE.....	102
HOME RULE IN ENGLAND.....	106
HOME RULE IN AMERICA.....	110
THE SUMMARY.....	116
ROTATION IN OFFICE.....	119
A CASE IN POINT.....	124
III. THE NEW TRADEUNION.....	128
FRONT THE EMPLOYERS.....	128
THE GREAT MODEL OF EUROPEAN TRADEUNIONS.....	133
THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION FOR AMERICAN LABOR.....	136
FRONT THE POLITICIANS.....	138
THE TRULY DEMOCRATIC METHOD.....	142

THIRD BOOK—A Plea for the Formation of a More Perfect Union.

I. THE GERMAN PRINTERS' GUILD.....	145
ITS CONSTITUTION COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE UNITED STATES	145
HISTORICAL REMARKS.....	148
THE CONSTITUTION	151
GENERAL REMARKS.....	153
LIMITATION OF APPRENTICES.....	155
THE APPRENTICE SCHOOLS OF THE GERMAN PRINTERS' GUILD.	156
A DAY IN A PRINTERS' TRADE COURT.....	159
II. ADDRESS TO THE TYPOTHETAE.....	162
III. THE UNION MINIMAL SCALE OF WAGES.....	166
IV. THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS.....	169
V. DICTATION AND COMPULSION IN BUSINESS.....	174
VI. THE PRINCIPLES OF ARBITRATION.....	180
VII. THE SHORTER WORKDAY.....	185

FIRST BOOK.

THE BURIAL OF THE APPRENTICE.

[An abstract of this Essay was printed in *The American Churchman*, October, 1888, and appears in the present form with the kind permission of the proprietors of that publication.]

I.—THE APPRENTICE AT HOME.

THE PASTOR'S LECTURE.

DURING a period of twenty years I obtained my apprentices from the Sunday School of an Episcopal minister whom I deeply revered because he preferred his humble East Side congregation to one which might better be able to appreciate and reward his great knowledge and oratorical talent.

One day the doctor presented to me a bright boy of German parentage, and enjoined me to take the lad as an apprentice, and that in the full sense of the word. He said that the boy's mother was inclined to piety, and that he hoped also to win the father for his community. "This man seems to be, like most educated German mechanics, a free-thinker with a socialistic turn of mind," the doctor added; and these remarks made me grow attentive.

"Doctor," said I, "you are asking very much. You want me to act the part of a venerable guild-master, working among his boys and instructing them, not only in the mysteries of the handicrafts, but also in the social and civil duties of their class. But, my dear sir, the fundamental conditions of industry have changed the spirit of the productive classes. Young and old think of that godly love which not only blesses but also chastises,¹ as an antiquated method of what is derisively called paternal government. They do not listen to words of correction and instruction in righteousness.² The best I can do for your boy is to let him work at the minor manipulations of the

trade, and to give him an opportunity to imitate expert journeymen."

The minister was shocked at my application of Bible passages to present business conditions, and declared that I was habitually confounding spiritual and earthly things. With that solemnity peculiar to ministers of the Lord, he pointed toward heaven and said:

"Please do not creep behind the socialistic phrase, that the changes of modern industry brought about by the introduction of steam power have also changed the ancient Christian code of morals. Your duties as a Christian householder remain the same in whatever condition it has pleased God to place you. Therefore, assume voluntarily toward your subordinates the same duties of the guild-master, which in a less civilized age were exacted by strict police supervision."

Touched to the quick, I replied: "Indeed, God's moral code stands to rights now and forever. But the social habits of the people and the laws and usages governing business intercourse have changed and do not, as they did in olden times, keep away temptation. The present business customs are not bulwarks of morality, but open doors to unrighteousness. The sciences of politics and economics, resting on the fundamental notion of absolute freedom of choice, instill into the industrial classes the belief that every one is endowed with an unlimited number of rights, and burdened with no more duties than he chooses to take upon himself voluntarily. In this world of ours, the light of faith is but like that of a candle on a lightship, intended to guide mariners through shoals and breakers to the port of safety. However, I shall try to do more for your boy than is customary; but what assurance have I that the parents will co-operate with me?"

"Do you doubt the power of parental love?"

"Are you sure that the parents can, at least for a few years, support their son?"

"Do you doubt the ability of a skillful mechanic to rear and support his children?"

"Are you sure that you can ward off the influences of the comrades of the boy?"

"You seem to doubt God and mankind! Remember, I am

the spiritual father of the young man!" exclaimed the minister with priestly pride.

I felt as if I had heard the voice of that spirit of churchly self-exaltation which thinks the outward forms of faith so strong that they can place the frailest soul beyond the pale of temptation.

"Yes, I doubt the love and wisdom on earth, but I believe that all the paths of the Lord are mercy and truth!"⁸

"Then take the boy, and I'll absolve you of the offence of harboring in your soul a most un-Christian pessimism." With that he left.

THE FATHER'S LECTURE.

In the evening I read, as I always do when business cares have made me tired of my vocation, some chapters of the ancient history of European handicraftsmen. In the contemplation of their valiant deeds and sanctified usages, I feel myself one with them in spirit, and reconciled to the post assigned to me in this world, which boasts of having made the life of industrials a relentless and never-ending struggle for existence. I read some of the old forms of indenture and installation of apprentices, and thought it might be good to try to sanctify the relation of the apprentice to me by adapting one of the beautiful and Christian-like forms of ancient trade rituals to the present occasion. "I'll see the father of the apprentice and ask him to coöperate with me," thought I, and left the house.

In the German quarter of the city of New York, that is, in that part of the great American metropolis where German life appears as if it were reflected in a vexing glass; where the houses are high, the rooms low, and the streets narrow; where the sunbeams breed miasma from the grocer's cabbage, the saloon-keeper's empty barrels, and the landlord's garbage boxes on the sidewalks—there I found the habitation of the educated German mechanic. Next door was a Methodist chapel where the mothers of the neighborhood satisfied their religious wants. On the corner was the beer saloon, with meeting rooms where the fathers adored their idols of progress—Mondays as singers, Tuesdays as labor reformers, Wednesdays as political reformers, Thursdays as lodge philosophers, Fridays as social club-

men; and Saturdays, with wages in their pockets, as free and easy guests of the tavern-keeper, who is, indeed, the centre of that sort of civilization.

It was Monday evening. The little home appeared neat and orderly. Charley—that was the apprentice's name—attended to the younger children, as neither parent was at home. "Father is at the Golden Circle and mother is attending a meeting of the Sisters of Rebecca," so I learned from the boy.

The next evening I beheld a similar scene. The absent father was engaged as secretary of the Seven Sages, and the mother as president of the Empress Augusta Circle.

On the third evening I found the mother at home; she seemed somewhat embarrassed when I spoke about indenturing her son, and intimated that her husband held peculiar notions on labor matters. She advised me to call Sunday afternoon to see him personally about the matter.

At the stated time I found the father busy with a number of societies' minute-books. He laid his work aside and begged pardon for having caused me so much trouble about a matter which, in his opinion, was entirely trivial. He then explained that he was obliged to utilize his Sundays, in order to write up the minutes of all the societies for which he acted as secretary.

"Never mind my trouble," said I, "but please tell me, why do you belong to so many societies? Do you not neglect your family and business affairs by taking upon yourself so much lodge work?"

"On the contrary, it is for the sake of his family that a laboring man should join benefit-societies. How else can a wage worker provide for his beloved ones in case of sickness, distress or death? Besides, in our age of progress, even laborers crave for higher enjoyments as a relief from the treadmill of the workshop. The darker and dingier the workshop, the nobler are the ideals, the brighter the hopes of those employed in them. Humanity must be redeemed from the bondage of selfishness. The 'I' must die, that the 'we' may live!"

"I understand what a consolation it must be for a working-man to know that he does not alone work for himself, but also for his fellow beings. But, pray, tell me in what way do your lodges further the redemption of mankind?"

At this question the versatile lodge secretary arose. Raising his eyebrows and running his hand through his blond hair, now placing his index finger on the nose, now pointing it toward heaven, he began to express thoughts that seemed to burn in his innermost soul. In a tone of religious inspiration and deep devotion, he uttered abstruse words which entirely overwhelmed my understanding. From the exuberant flood of formless thoughts it gradually dawned on me that in the Golden Circle humanity moves in patience, hope and morning dawn; while the Mystic Shrine unfolds the kabbala of the beginning, middle and end of things; and that the Seven Sages work in wisdom, love and perfection, while the Fourteen Dunces preserve in the fool's cap good humor, wit and satire. Strange that every secret order bears a trinity of grand words in its escutcheon!

Schopenhauer says that every German begins to reel when he enlarges upon ideas. It always gives me great pleasure to meet with examples that illustrate the paradoxical utterances of this sage. I therefore listened attentively to the inspired secretary and asked him how he worked for the redemption of the world of labor.

The man at first cast a suspicious glance at me, and then gave way to the missionary mania hereditary in all who claim to be sole possessors of the only and incontrovertible truth. He declaimed pathetically: "Did you ever hear of the precursor of the Rabbi Jesus, who came to make straight the paths of Him who left the Kingdom of Heaven for the sake of the poor on earth? He, St. John, founded the secret Order of Precursors, which ever since has existed and worked in all the cities of the world. As St. John preached the truth to Herod and suffered the extreme penalty of death on that account, so do the precursors of our age preach the truth against the lies of civilization, although their doom is death, as of yore. So do we work at the redemption of the poor—and, where men like Arnold von Winkelried embrace the spears of armored knights and die, crying: Let there be a path for liberty—where dynamite bombs frighten Czars and rudely awaken Americans from their dreams of freedom—where the strains of the Marsellaise arise from dungeons and hallelujahs from the mouths of men with ropes

around their necks—there, there work precursors at the redemption of the poor, to break the way for Him who will wipe the tears from the eyes of the miserable——”

“Well, you are an anarchist,” said I, curtly interrupting the inspired mechanic. Then his eyes, glowing with the strange fire of fanaticism, suddenly assumed a vacant and inimical expression.

“Yes, the world calls me so,” he replied, “but you meant to speak about my son.”

“Oh, yes; I want to make a contract with you to settle the terms of your son’s apprenticeship.”

“What! you want to bind my son by indenture to be a slave for three or five years? Now, in this age of industrial liberty? Do you not know that Adam Smith, the great Scottish economist, who was the founder of the present order of business, distinctly says that long apprenticeships simply enrich employers? I shall read for your benefit some passages from his book, ‘The Wealth of Nations,’ Chapter X, 2: ‘The necessity to make a contract is a manifest encroachment upon the just liberty both of the workmen and of those who might be disposed to employ them.’ ‘The institution of long apprenticeships has no tendency to form young people to industry.’ ‘Long apprenticeships are altogether unnecessary.’ ‘How to apply the instruments and how to construct the machines cannot require a lesson of more than a few weeks; in the common mechanic trades, those of a few days might certainly be sufficient.’ These words are as true to-day as they were a hundred years ago. Tell me, why do you, as an employer, want to gainsay Adam Smith, and reëstablish a custom which is discarded by all the world? Why do you want to swim against the stream?”

“In the first place, Adam Smith’s arguments against long apprenticeships may be true in respect to a few factory manipulations of his time, but by no means can a mechanical art—such as the printing business—be learned in a few months. Besides, it is not for the handicraft alone that boys should be bound to serve till manhood; for the sake of society, they must be accustomed to the practice of steadiness, perseverance, attention to detail, respect to their superiors. They must learn not only to support themselves and in future their families, but

also to obey and to love order and discipline, which are our first civil duties.

"Generally speaking, it is evident that the theories of Adam Smith and his school of economists rest on a very crude philosophy. They presuppose that all men are by nature good and reasonable; and that in business their self-interest will always instinctively lead them to do what is most beneficial for themselves. However, experience teaches that neither apprentices, journeymen, nor masters know and do what is right and useful for themselves and their vocation at all times. Egotism blinds man's intellect, and restraints by law and custom ought to prevent this natural power from degenerating into a diseased condition called selfishness. Adam Smith and the statesmen following him have abolished the old restraints on business egotism—a part of which were codified in the apprenticeship laws. Modern law and custom have set free the natural force of egotism, which, like fire, is most useful when well guarded, but terrible if allowed to run its wild course. So it is with competition; if circumscribed by wise customs it may invigorate the mind; if set free, it acts on the soul like fire on the body.

"Do not tradesmen, workingmen and apprentices, having too much license in competition, hurt each other by resorting to all kinds of tricks in trade? Has not their conscience been blunted to such a degree that they do not even feel that there is harm in too much competition? Can we hope to meet the problems of our age by granting to industrials still more liberty; and by removing even the fear of the criminal law from the consciences of such men as are unscrupulous and shameless enough to operate within the shadow of the penitentiary walls? Adam Smith and his followers have erred in overestimating the strength of reason as a power to control selfishness; and in underestimating the power of trade associations as fit authorities to draw the proper line on individual liberty in competition. Do not persist in this fatal error, but rather look around and try to imbue our business organizations with so much good sense and moral strength that the commonwealth can intrust to them the duty of restraining their members' liberty in competition."

The anarchist, raising his voice and energetically gesticulating, said: "So you want the state to restrain the liberty of

business in the manner of the ancient guilds? Laws to check egotism? Would it not be better at once to put the theory of socialism into practice, and thus remove these things on which selfishness feeds? The institution of private property in productive plants is what makes capitalists fat and overbearing. Make one trust of all productive trusts, then burn the certificates of membership and declare that the nation shall own and operate the various trades through committees—and lo! the socialistic state is born, and the monster, business selfishness, will perish from want of nourishment.

"But then there will be another state and, of course, another law and another power to enforce it. Socialistic government will be a harder burden to bear than that under which the world has groaned up to this day. Therefore"—here the anarchist looked like a priest of Baal, "I say, down with all renegades. Let us mount the platform of real and lasting progress and boldly proclaim: Away with capital and the monster government that protects it in breeding laws and disseminating them into the social body like vile contagion in a pest-ridden country. Yes, we anarchists are the true disciples of the great Adam Smith, because we dare to draw the logical conclusions of his self-evident truths! He delivered industry from its dependence on government by guilds; we shall complete his work by delivering the world from its dependence on governments! Adam Smith broke the power of craft-guilds. Anarchists shall crush the power of States. In the name of liberty Adam Smith drove the monopolists of trade away like wolves; in the name of liberty they returned like sheep. Down with this goddess of modern liberty, born from the diseased womb of statecraft! She is a prostitute, selling herself to vile brutes and begetting abjection and misery all around. Let us exalt that liberty which needs no law to protect it and inscribe on the hearts of the poor that law of enlightenment which requires no governmental power to enforce it. Police and soldiers will then be things of the past, and courts and judges can suspend their labor. Our earth, which is now a vale of sorrow, will then indeed be an Eden, where there is no need of a Redeemer, because there will be no traps for men to fall into, and there will be no God, because every one will be a god within himself."

II.—THE APPRENTICE IN THE WORKSHOP.

WAGES.

Soon after, the pastor came with the anarchist and asked me to accept his verbal guaranty for an indenture of Charley. After I had declared my willingness to do so, both bargained for high wages from the beginning of the apprenticeship.

The anarchist said: "Give my son more than the customary wages and he will be more attentive and diligent than boys of his age generally are; and, by increasing them at regular intervals, say every three months, you will attach Charley more effectively to you than a contract of apprenticeship ever would."

The pastor remarked: "Experience teaches that appreciation of services expressed by an increase of remuneration is a greater stimulus to self-exertion than the ancient form of recognition by private encouragement or public honors, diplomas, etc."

I refrained from argument, because it grieved me to hear a minister of Christ endorse the economic sophistries of Adam Smith, especially on such an important point as the training of young men. Anent the effect of wages on conduct of boys, this eminent writer says: "The sweets of labor is the recompense of labor. . . . A young man would practice (his trade) with much more diligence and attention if, from the beginning . . . being paid in proportion to the little work which he could execute."⁴

The fallacy of this proposition, which indeed touches a sympathetic chord in human nature, is evident if applied to the teacher of a trade, thus: The sweets of labor is the recompense of labor: An old mechanic would teach young men with much more diligence and attention if he were paid in proportion to the little he could teach; and, indeed, the most potent among the many causes which have operated to bring the system of apprenticeship into disuse is the anxiety of the boy and his parents to obtain journeymen's wages. They leave no margin to remunerate an instructor, be he the employer himself or a trusted workman appointed for that purpose. Hence, all parties concerned with apprentices lost their interest in the sys-

tem, and none care to revive it. "Let the elders be counted worthy of double honors, especially they who labor in word and doctrine. The laborer is worthy of his reward."⁶

The hypothesis assumed by Adam Smith as a basis of reasoning against the system of educational servitude, namely, "The sweets of labor is the recompense of labor," rests on a very superficial observation of human nature. I have been an apprentice myself and had in my career as foreman and employer many a boy in my personal care. The bright lads who have ambition and are endowed with energy to learn and skill to practice the "mysteries" of their crafts never think of wages as an incentive. Besides, their salary is usually handed over to their parents. Their work is their reward and pleasure. They are often so deeply absorbed in the enjoyments of production that they hear and see nothing of the constant noise and bustle in their workshop.

Boys of this class will, under all circumstances, make their way to the topmost rung of the great ladder on which it is said there is room enough for all. But as soon as their parents or guardians cool their ambition by instilling into their hearts sordid motives, or into their minds the idea that their tutors are unjust to them, their progress is retarded. A boy who compares his work with his wages puts a brake on his progress that will eventually grind out the machine which sets hands and brains in motion. Moreover, the system of educational servitude was not evolved by industrial society of the past to curb the ambitions of the few happy boys who were favored by God and nature with superior faculties; it was found to be a necessity for the great majority of lads who were dull, heedless, and even averse to the mental exertion of systematic work. The average boy wants to play, that is, exert himself unsystematically and in a free and easy manner which is often harder than his real work.

Mental self-control, i. e., strict attention to one single thing at a time; in other words, every form of spiritual discipline is most hateful to him. No amount of wages can change his aversion. The spirit of emulation can never be enkindled by holding before a dull boy the hope of an advance in wages or by pointing to bright examples of diligence and success. But a tutor can,

by close attention to the personal characteristics of his ward, "break" him, that is, accustom him to obedience, and therewith to mental discipline. A perseverant and good-hearted task-master can inure the young and usually rebellious soul to the drudgery and usages of shop life which is so widely different from his former life in school. Through constant repetition even dunces can acquire a certain skill; and finally, when they see the fruits of their exertion, that is, when they enjoy the sight of articles made by themselves, they may even experience that love for work which is the only reliable incentive to industry and the source of lasting happiness in future days.

A wiser generation than the one which now rules industry knew all these things, and surrounded the state of apprenticeship with a bulwark of wise laws and customs. They assumed that the instructor was entitled to a just reward, and therefore said: *Instruction is Wages*. The skilled craftsmen of the middle ages who built the ancient cathedrals and made the beautiful works of art which we admire in old castles and museums would have laughed at a public teacher like Adam Smith, who claims that *Wages are Instruction*.

What do our leading artisans and foremen think of workmen who consider wages the sweets of labor? They despise the penny-wise and pound-foolish fellows who, in measuring their exertion by the wages they receive, upset the Creator's own order of man's spiritual life. In truth, foremen and superintendents, who never come from the class of those whom the Bible calls "hirelings," despise boys and journeymen who think of pay-day first and last. Are they not very much like the donkeys in Italy that only muster up the courage needed to climb mountain paths when the driver ties a bundle of hay on a stick fastened to the saddle, so that it dangles before their noses but is beyond the reach of their outstretched tongues?

Prominent business men, inventors and artists seldom think of the material fruits of their labors as being an incentive to that devotion to their calling which commands success under all circumstances. They think and work incessantly because systematic activity is an ever-sprouting source of pleasure, and makes one forget the cares and sorrows of life. Productions of the intellect are a great and lasting delight to their authors be-

cause they are visible signs of the qualities of their invisible self; and the delight with which the mechanic views his handiwork partakes of the same nature. It is the strong emotion of the human spirit having a presentment of its kinship to the Creative Spirit of the universe.

What, then, is the true relation of devoted workingmen to wages and reward? Are they to be indifferent to the question of compensation for their exertion? By no means. The great men of industry and art think of their reward in the manner of the farmer who expects a harvest after seed time as a natural result. Inventors and industrials often spend the better part of a lifetime with hard work and poverty and say, smilingly: "Recognition will come." Deeply rooted in their nature is the idea: Labor is the seed and wages are the fruit; the fruit belongs to the seedsman and society guarantees the fruit as a debt. This is also the Scriptural view. "To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace but of debt."⁶ Labor the cause, wages the effect.

But if the cause Labor is given, and the effect Wages does not materialize, are workingmen then to lose the fruit of their labor and suffer? No. God gave them reason to understand and will-power to control causes and effects to a certain extent. The farmer who finds his acre barren and weedy can remove the weeds and cultivate the soil to bring forth a better harvest than before. If thieves or dangerous vermin come to rob the tiller of the fruits of his labor, he can drive the parasites away. Even so can industrial laborers cultivate their soil, that is, their trades, to bring forth sufficient fruit and do such things as will make the earnings of labor equivalent to their expended labor force. Should they be deprived of the fruits of their labor by cunning and deceit, they have the same right of defence as the husbandman on his farm. For labor is the seed, wages the fruit, and the fruit belongs to the seedsman; not only to those who own the tools, but also to the workingmen whose capital is skill.

This was the law when our early ancestors sacrificed to Rudra in the Himalaya mountains and when Jehovah spoke to the Hebrews and Christ confirmed the writ. It is the law to-day. However, in our age of doubt in all ancient scripture, new phil-

osophies prevail and say: "Of course, my laboring friend, the fruit belongs to the seedsman; but do you not see *that wages are the seed and labor is the fruit?* Therefore, the fruit belongs to him who scatters wages broadcast over the land, the capitalist! Now, fellow-citizens and laboring men, scramble for the seed; the little you may catch is your own grain; do with it the same as capital does, but your labor belongs to the capitalist, because it is the fruit of wages."

However plausible this view may appear it is evidently a falsification of Holy Writ, for example: "The husbandman that labors must be first *partaker* (not *taker*, as some mistaken friends of labor say) of the *fruit*,"⁷ which is made to read, "*partakers of the seed.*" Yet this view has prevailed in Christian countries for almost a century, and laws and customs have been shaped according to the falsification. The result is evident: Labor has no further share in the fruits of the land than that which it extorts by virtue of moral compulsion. Millions of human beings must be content with the grains of wages which capital scatters every week. A few laborers get some; many get none at all; and when it pleases capital to stop production, as trusts do at times, then labor may starve—it has its dues; society has done what it agreed to do. *Shylock was right*, the wise Daniel but a quibbler, *but the law was wrong.*

Shall labor then abide with the falsification of Holy Writ and ancient law committed by modern philosophy? It shall not. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away,"⁸ and because it is the will of God that "Thou shalt eat the labor of thine hands, happy shalt thou be and it shall be well with thee."⁹

What shall labor do? Cast away the errors of the wicked modern philosophy. Return to the faith of our fathers and "Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbor; execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates."¹⁰ This means: The wisdom of this world (political economy) is foolishness with God. Come to an understanding with your partners, the employers, as to what shall be the share of labor in the fruits of the particular industry which is tilled by both capital and labor together.

EMPLOYER AND APPRENTICE.

Some weeks later the doctor came and inquired about the progress of his ward. "I want to coöperate with you, the technical instructor of the apprentice," he said. Sirach asks:¹¹ "How can the craftsmen get wisdom? All their desire is the work of their craft," and I answer with the Apostle:¹² "They must be nourished up in the words of faith and of good doctrine."

I laid my work aside and gazed at the doctor. There he stood, an ideal soul-care^r, whose very presence commanded reverence and enkindled affection. His large, blue eyes beamed with rays from that sun of life whose essence is charity. His stately figure and mighty forehead overawed his hearers, be tokening the presence of a soul that had fathomed life. So St. Paul must have looked when he spoke to the Athenian sophists of the Unknown God. This minister of Christ knocks at the door of industry to teach the craftsmen "wisdom which sweetly orders all things."¹³ Yet he could not enter their councils to speak to them collectively, nor could he get their ear as individuals. Everybody engaged in business thinks that neither religion nor ethics has anything to do with business pursuits. A modern tradesman's will-power is regulated by self-interest; it is the sentimental corner of his heart that is left for Christ's minister to keep in good shape. As these thoughts came to me I felt all the woes of modern craftsmen's life at once. "I am pained at my heart; and I cannot hold my peace."¹⁴

"Doctor," said I, remorsefully, "do not rely on me personally to instruct your apprentice and directly to coöperate with you in the training of your boy. A modern employing craftsman is hourly and daily occupied with the problem of economic self-maintenance, which is an everlasting task of calculation. This strains every fibre of the brain so that large employers generally forget the human beings with whose labor they must reckon or speculate day by day."

"Be careful," the doctor answered, fixing his mild eyes sternly upon me, "lest the desire of expansion turn your living soul into a figuring machine."

Feeling the reproach of this remark, I answered: "Please

do not admit the popular prejudice against employers that selfishness is their only motive. It may be expedient for sensational newspapers and preachers to cry out against employers when, under duress of virulent competition, they either reduce wages or increase prices to maintain their industries, or propose common action in order to improve their condition. The by-words of socialism should not be reechoed from the sounding-board of the pulpit. It is not prudent thus to strengthen those who think it timely to do away with the class of employers entirely."

"When employers neglect their higher duties as stewards of God's household, as you do in the case of my apprentices, they certainly invoke God's wrath and deserve censure."

"If thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?"¹⁵ Yes, employers as a class have grievously erred and sinned. Their hearts were haughty. 'They have exercised themselves in great matters and things that were too high for them.'¹⁶ When they received the power of steam to help them in their crafts they wanted the earth, and overthrew every barrier of law and custom to get the right of way over the heads of all other classes in their countries. And, when they had exhausted every market of the world, they turned the double-edged weapon of competition against themselves and reduced each other, so that nowadays all have to struggle for bare self-maintenance. Therefore, forgive the employers their shortcomings; forgive me when I subordinate the duties towards my fellow-workers to the all-absorbing duty of my own economic self-maintenance."

"I forgive now, as I have often had occasion to do, your heathenish pessimism, if you will consider that nothing can be more apt to ease what you are pleased to call the employers' struggle for economic self-maintenance than the affection of their workingmen. Is there a better way to gain this boon than by taking pains about the spiritual welfare of your employees and to educate them up to a higher standard of morality than the one which characterizes the laborers of our times?"

"Yes, doctor, there is a better way; better from a Christian point of view, because it begins with self-denial; better from an economic point of view, because it ends with peace; and where

peace is there is prosperity. Let the workingmen alone and do not try to foster them against their will. Do not treat them as minors for whom employers must think and act; recognize them as freemen, of age, who know how to regulate their social, economic and political life. Do not treat them as subordinates in business, but as coördinates, who know their craft and the conditions on which its welfare depends. Concede to them the democratic birthright to govern themselves in business as in politics, and to regulate the price of their labor as well as their conduct in the workshops. This is the better way to gain the workingmen's affection—and I have chosen it. In enrolling your boy I have violated a trade rule in order to please you: Charley is a supernumerary. You want me to give him the preference over others and to personally instruct him. This is against the will of my employees, and I wish you would not exact promises which I cannot keep. I think I have done all I could do under the circumstances. You and Charley's father have bargained for and exacted high wages for services which consist at present in running little errands for the employees; this gives your boy an opportunity to win their favor. Now wait and see what can be done later."

The doctor listened impatiently and seemed ruffled. He was not accustomed to contradiction when lecturing on the duties of life. Clergymen and philanthropists often forget that "Charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up . . . but endureth all things."¹⁷ So he began to dogmatize and to draw conclusions from conjectural states of things in business life. He wanted to know what would become of industry if the stewards of productive capital were to resign their sacred right of determining its application and employment? How could they be held responsible to God for their stewardship if they were not free to do in their factories as they pleased? Whether I was not abetting socialism by admitting labor to the councils of business? Whether Holy Writ was right or not when it said:¹⁸ "They (the craftsmen) shall not be sought for in public council, nor sit high in the congregation," etc.?

"Be composed, dear doctor," said I. "You ask too many far-reaching questions in one breath. I could not, even if I would try to, answer with the hope of getting your assent to my

proposition, because your intellect, even with its wealth of knowledge, does no more comprehend the real situation of the skilled trades than the clouded brain of the average employer who struggles for a mere subsistence. The stewards of productive capital, that is, employers, have in reality no freedom of choice in their pursuits. Others, and alas! in most cases the worst elements of their trades, control their business for them by way of fixing the prices of products through unscrupulous competition. The owners of the productive plants do not control their employees, but the tradeunions do it. Organized labor determines wages, workshop rules and the status of apprentices. An employer who boasts of the authority which he derives from the rights of property is like a mosquito which sits on a galloping horse and boasts of its power over the larger animal and its capacity to stir up such a cloud of dust on the road. Employing craftsmen are to-day not much more than acceptable sureties for the workmen's wages and reliable figuring-machines for consumers to reduce the cost of all articles of consumption to such a point as will just maintain their plants. After you shall understand the notion of business liberty to be a mere will-o'-the-wisp on the morass of human vanity, then, dear doctor, I can argue with you on the duties of the day. In the meantime, exert your personal influence in favor of your ward where it may do most good. If you want an instructor for him, I dare say the foreman would be your man."

The doctor, always respecting manly expressions of opinions, went into the workshop. The apprentices will teach the doctor more political economy than his university professors ever did, thought I.

FOREMAN AND APPRENTICE.

The doctor went to the desk of the foreman, who was busy with his papers, glancing every few minutes over his spectacles across the room at the employees. "How is Charley getting along?" was the question.

"Charley—Charley—is that the name of the new boy from the East Side?"

"Mr. Foreman, I am astonished that you do not know the names of your apprentices. As their instructor, you should even be acquainted with their personalities. There is no instruction without individualization."

The foreman smiled and looked at the pile of work on his desk and then through the room as if he were counting his men. "What would become of me if I were to concern myself with the personalities of the men in my charge?" he said, as if speaking to himself. "Doctor, my duty here is to push the work with the help of my employees. The boys among them are hired and discharged just like men, and do such things as require no particular skill for as high wages as they can get. The word 'apprentice' is an anachronism, and the idea which it conveys belongs to the Middle Ages."

"But, dear foreman, do you not see that the idea of apprenticeship is founded on human nature, and should be carried out wherever young men require special training in order to make them skilful mechanics and good citizens? Moreover, represent to your mind an ancient printing office, and then look upon the one under your own control. Mark the difference in the variety and intricacy of the tools. Look at that modern wonder, the typesetting machine, and at that enormous press over yonder. Then tell me candidly, am I wrong when I say that the time set apart for learning the printer's craft in the Middle Ages is far too short for our present age? You may say that modern trades are divided into several different occupations in due consideration of the increased scope of the whole business. Then I maintain that each part of the modern craft is far more difficult to learn than the whole trade in olden times."

"True enough, reverend sir, but the modern improvements have come with a whirlwind of excitement, which seems to increase as we go on perfecting our machinery. The craftsmen seem to be in an everlasting passion with their foremen about the pitfalls and snares which lie between wageworkers and employers. Indeed, the apprenticeship system, on the mediaeval idea, requires an air of leisure around the workshops and an evenness of mind on the part of those conducting them which cannot exist in our country. Americans boast of doing in one day the work of two days, without regard to the expenditure of

nerve and brain force. For this glory we sacrifice our inner peace and happiness. We work too much and reflect too little."

"Do not lose yourself in generalities. Am I to understand that your firm overtaxes your capabilities so that you cannot pay attention to your apprentices?"

"No, it would be wrong to blame any individual firm for the existing strained state of affairs. It is the general drift of industrial life under the duress of competition which enervates every one who holds a responsible position in it. Customers require for each order a number of estimates from differently inclined printers. By this simple method, their shrewdness matches the ignorance of beginners and the malevolence of envious competitors and the greed of upstarts against the honorable endeavors of those business men who try to do justice to all concerned, even to apprentices. The burden of this mischievous play of cunning, stupidity and passion, which is called the life of trade—competition—is borne by the foreman. The most honorable firms must give way before the constant pressure of senseless competition. They look to the foreman to reduce expenses in proportion to the decrease of prices. The workmen, on the other hand, are bound by oaths to resist every order to this effect, while they meet covert attempts by passive opposition. Workingmen believe the modern fallacy that the less they do the more of their number will find employment. Some unions think that they serve their class by stipulating such a maximum limit for a day's work as they would perhaps furnish if they were reluctant slaves under the whip. Men sin for sweet pity's sake, and justify their course by the self-same economic fallacies which the capitalists use as a cloak for their cupidity. They say: 'If demand and supply is a power to dish out work and wages, let us increase the demand for laborers by lessening our daily supply of labor.' The foreman is placed between the insidious workings of such false tradeunionism and the arrows of malicious competition. His craft consists in shifting between the power off the union and the urgent requirements of his employers. Liberality towards employees is met by disfavor of his firm. Simple justice towards the firm incites the antagonism of the employees. There is no common rule to decide between what is just or unjust. To

favor apprentices is especially repugnant to the men, because they think that they must jealously watch the doors of entry to a trade in order to limit the supply of labor. Thus the errors of the great economists of the past are visited upon the present generation. Doctor, tell me, why should I borrow trouble all around to help these young fellows who, together with their parents, would not in the least appreciate anything done for them?"

"So you do not like apprentices at all?"

"Indeed not; the dull boys are a source of trouble all around, and the bright ones, for whom the foreman would feel a natural friendship, soon grow intractable through self-conceit; they run away, thinking themselves men before their time. Brightness and unsteadiness seem to be concomitants."

Just then the office whistle sounded and the foreman said, "Excuse me, sir," while the doctor, shaking his head, went further in search of an instructor for his boy.

JOURNEYMAN AND APPRENTICE.

The doctor espied Charley standing by the side of Mr. Pray, an old compositor, who was a member of his congregation and a teacher in his Sunday-school.

"Ah, Mr. Pray," said the doctor, extending his hand, "I am very glad to see you take an interest in Charley. I brought him to this house to learn the printer's trade, and I feel sorely disappointed. It seems to me that neither the firm nor the foreman cares for the boy. Can't you attend to him and show him what to do and how to do it?"

"Thank you, doctor, for your good opinion of me. But I am unable to do as you wish. In the first place, I have no time to spare; must stick type all day long at 40 cents a thousand ems; hard work to set 4,000 a day on an average, counting loss of time, waiting either for sorts, copy or proofs; can hardly support my family on that income. And, then, I am not competent to teach. By sheer accident I came to learn the printing business. I was a poor little country waif, and the newspaper printer of the village hired me as his 'devil.' I had to run

errands, clean the presses, sweep the floors, etc., until I had learned, without being taught, how to set up a line of type. After I knew the case I had to distribute for the elder boys for three or four years, and then I ran away. While trying to get along on city work my skill improved a little. How can I instruct a boy? I am myself but half a craftsman, a helper, so to say, of those who know the business, unable to stand on my own feet, an object of pity to my better self. But, doctor, do not be apprehensive as to the future of Charley. He is better situated than thousands of apprentices. He has an opportunity to see good work and become acquainted with perfect tools; he can see how capable workmen proceed and can learn his trade by imitating them. The great majority of printers, reared in country offices where the unions cannot restrict employers, do not even learn to distinguish between good work and bad. Therefore, thank God that you happened to find a place for him in this concern."

"Mr. Pray, I am so unpleasantly surprised at what I have heard and seen this day of the inner life of one of the most respected trades that I am at a loss to know what to say. It appears to me that the preservation of the art preservative of all arts is left to chance. Its apprentices remain untutored and are surrendered to opportunities. The trade 'has no time' to attend to the spiritual wants and the technical skill of those upon whom depends its future. Where will this end? Tell me, Mr. Pray, what, for example, would become of the Church if it would cease to educate young ministers to take the places of the old ones when they depart?"

"The Church would cease to be an organized body and become incapable of comprehending and carrying on the work which Christ desires to have done on earth, and would be unfit either to live or to die. Even so will it be with the trades if they do not resume their system of apprenticeship. They would be disorganized and as unfit to preserve the good they have inherited as they would be to create better conditions for their members. The craftsmen will be like sheep that cannot open their mouths before their shearers, and it will come to pass, as it is said,¹⁹ 'And no craftsman of whatever craft he be shall be found any more in thee.'"

TRADEUNION AND APPRENTICE.

"Now tell me your opinion as to what can be done, in general, to stop the further neglect of apprentices, and what I can do for my ward especially."

"Try to keep conceit and unsteadiness out of Charley's heart; teach him politeness towards his superiors in the place and all will be well. As for the final settlement of the apprenticeship question, nothing can be done as long as Church and Society deny to the tradeunions even the right of existence. The unions are at present the only organized powers in the trade. With their consent and hearty help, the system of apprenticeship can be improved; without it nothing can be done."

"Mr. Pray, there seems to be no end to surprises since I set my foot into this printing office. You, a devout Christian, tell me seriously that the union is to foster the apprenticeship system? The same union which by covert and open action tries to close the doors against all apprentices? I believe now, as ever, that you are a little astray on the union question."

"Dear doctor, you have in view that union which is engaged in an arduous struggle for existence, and which, indeed, often appears like a herd of persecuted horses, putting their heads together and kicking with their hind hoofs at whomsoever approaches them. I have in view that union of the future which shall have acquired the right of existence and can afford to devote itself to the pursuits of peace, in common with the union of employers; the most important of which is the regulation of the apprenticeship system, needed with equal urgency by both productive classes. You, doctor, speak of that union which, following the delusions of the age, shuts the doors of the trades to newcomers, in the vain hope that it could improve the conditions of labor by reducing the supply thereof. I speak of the better informed union of the future, which will, in common with employers, refute the pernicious fallacy that a blind natural law determines justice in business and not the Omnipotent God on High. At present, my dear pastor, let me crave for nothing more than the privilege of pronouncing my belief that the intentions of the best union men are in strict conformity with Christian tenets, and that trade-

unionism does not incite workingmen to lay their hands on the pillars and props of God's earthly order of life. You, as a minister of Christ, ought to take cognizance of the complaints of labor and its endeavors to remedy them. Whatsoever moves the souls of millions of intelligent and most useful human beings deserves the attention of the Church and should not be curtly dismissed as a passing irritation.

"I readily believe that it is as difficult for the educating classes to open spiritual intercourse with tradeunionists as it is for their enemies, the employers. The official teachers of the people have lost touch with the sentiments and actual life of the handicraftsmen, because they dwell in an atmosphere of politico-economic notions which is simply suffocating for the common sense of mechanics. Moreover, the behavior of tradeunionists, whenever they appear in public, is repulsive and altogether devoid of politeness and statesmanship, qualities which help to win the hearts of opponents. How can it be otherwise? The only class which approaches tradeunionists so far is that of wily politicians, who flatter and inflate them with foolish notions of their importance, all of which increases that arrogance which shuts off friendly intercourse altogether.

"I think, however, that the desire to reform the educational system of apprenticeship is strong enough to bring employers, educators and tradeunionists together upon neutral ground. The education of the people of the future is the common focus toward which the interests of society, employers and working-men converge. Let the first kind word be spoken on this subject and I am sure all will respond and an era of better feeling may follow. Rest assured, thoughtful labor-leaders know that by reducing the number of apprentices in cities where the union spirit is strong, they are simply cutting off the roots of the tree of tradeunionism and hope that it may grow from the chaff which every ill wind blows from the country districts, and which settles on its branches and leaves like mildew. In the country districts, where there is no union spirit, every half-witted compositor breeds at least twenty-five like himself every year, who are shaken off as soon as they ask for wages. This motley crowd comes to the cities, enters the unions without restraint, merely to swell the list of indigent

'out-of-works' in the 'house of call.' These fellows, having neither a union nor a printer's heart, form the dangerous majorities in union meetings. They are always there, like political hacks on registration days. They bring about unnecessary strikes when they are eager to divide the funds, and do all those things which the conservative element would not do.

"We know all these things, and we also know that the employers suffer from no cause more than from the apprentice printing shops in the country, which ruin the best city work through indescribably low prices. But we can do nothing to relieve ourselves and them, because the employers will abuse every concession made by us in favor of common trade interests. We must trudge along and try to make the best of our circumstances until a better spirit prevails among employers and society at large."

The doctor listened attentively and seemed lost in reflection, trying to harmonize the impressions of the day with his own fundamental ideas of social arrangements. Suddenly he caught the old compositor by the shoulder, and fixing his eyes upon him as if he wanted to pierce his soul, said:

"Whence comes the spirit that speaks out of you? Is it from the father of lies, to destroy your soul? or is it the spirit of God who will, 'After that you have suffered a while, make you perfect, establish, strengthen and settle you?'"²⁰

The old, gray-haired typesetter met the fire from his pastor's eye that seemed to try his worth, and answered:

"The spirit of tradeunionism, sir, comes from Christ, who said:²¹ 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire laborers. . . . And, when he had agreed with the laborers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard, and on the third hour he hired others and said: Whatsoever is right, I will give you. And on the sixth and ninth hour he did likewise.' This means that the householder shall, firstly, *agree* with the laborers on wages and not dictate them; secondly, *agree with them collectively*, not individually; and thirdly, *pay the minimum amount agreed on to all who are installed afterwards*, without regard to the actual amount of work done by them.

"Tradeunionism denuded of everything attached thereto by

'Prophets that make my people err,'²² is the fulfilment of the doctrine of Christ concerning the hire of labor. They want collective bargaining for living wages and the abolishment of individual bargaining for the terms of labor. For in every trade, 'Many are called but few are chosen'²³ to work; and if the wages are not fixed for all alike, the ones that are called will ruin the wages of the chosen ones and of themselves."

The doctor thoughtfully cast down his eyes and said: "I have been taught that this parable conveys the idea that God owes no debts to anyone and can bestow His grace upon whomsoever He chooses. But who knows? Perhaps things hidden from the wise and prudent have been revealed unto babes. Christ was brought up in the carpenter's trade. The ancient Jews and Romans had craft-guilds.²⁴ Who knows? Perhaps Christ indeed meant to sanction the institution to which, undoubtedly, his foster father belonged." Apparently, the good pastor began to doubt the individualistic doctrines which he had imbibed from his early youth up, and which have estranged the Church and the workingmen. Doubt is the beginning of wisdom.

Passing my desk on his way home, the doctor said: "I begin to comprehend what havoc has been wrought by the current doctrine that political economy has nothing to do with ethics."

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CHAPEL.

When the doctor returned, he asked permission to go into the printing office in order to have an explanation from the Chairman of the Chapel. This functionary, he said, had made attempts to extinguish Charley's faith and to prejudice him against the printing business, so that the boy spoke of going to work in a store.

"Come and speak to the workmen whenever you so desire. If professors and clergymen would always do that before they write on economic problems, much less printing of erudite nonsense would be done."

"Who is the Chairman of the Chapel, and what are his functions?"

"This official ranks in our industrial democracy with the walking delegate. He is the most abused tradeunion official and the one who, more than any other, offends the employers' sense of justice and whose very existence seems to be a cause of discord. I hope, however, that you will do him justice, if you hold in view the peculiarity of his position. The tradeunion is a sworn fraternity to improve the condition of labor. The principal method to this end consists in the abolishment of the insidious custom of fixing the terms of labor by individual contract and the substitution therefor of the more equitable system of making collective labor contracts valid for all employed by a trade. Another tradeunion method is, to bring the labor vote to bear on the politicians, in order to secure legal enactments for the sanitation and safety of working places. The first mentioned method requires an organization for collective bargaining and mutual insurance against loss of work through fidelity to the union. The second method requires county, State and national federations of tradeunions, with permanent political committees. These institutions require very much money. The person who collects the taxes of the workingman's industrial state, that is, the weekly dues and assessments for the above purposes, and is the representative of the tradeunion in the workshop, is the Chairman.

"He is the person who brings about almost all collisions between union men and their employers, because it is his duty to bring home to the employer a most repulsive truth, namely, that the modern master is no longer the autocrat of the shop. In our political economy without room for ethics, it is the Chairman who determines right and wrong in workshop life. He disposes of the hearts of the workmen, while the foreman merely puts their hands to work. The orders of the office are carried out with evident apathy; but when the union speaks, through the mouth of its Chairman, the men obey with that devotion and self-denial which overcomes hunger and thirst and cheerfully sacrifice on the altar of labor the happiness of wife and child and whatever else is commonly dear to men. How foolish are those statesmen and economists who think that they can appease striking laborers with statistical tables

which show how much they spend and how little they gain by their devotion to their cause!

"One would think that the person holding such high rank in the industrial democracy ought to be the most prominent man in respect to character, intelligence and skill. However, this is generally not the case. The best workmen are the most reluctant to accept the chairmanship of the Chapel to which they belong, because a strict fulfilment of the duties connected with the office endangers their position and the steadiness of their income.

"Every lawyer knows that the interpretation and application of a law is more difficult than the framing of it, and that it often requires the highest legal talent to determine the sense and scope of apparently simple words. This embarrassing task belongs to the Chairman. He interprets the scale of wages, and puts every union rule into practice in the first instance. Moreover, being an interested party to the collective contract between the employer and the union, he is, even under the best conditions, an unacceptable umpire. Howsoever his decisions may fall, he incites the animosity of his employer. Not only this. He acts also as the district attorney for the union to report imaginary and real transgressions of its rules. As a public prosecutor, and judge at the same time, the Chairman can fine on the spot and bring a shop to a standstill without giving the employer an opportunity to state his case.

"Having so much power, the Chairman is always surrounded by a ring of weak-kneed workmen who look to him for protection, when the office finds fault with them. He is the centre of all dissatisfied elements of the workshop and usually intent on throwing stumbling-blocks in the way of the foreman.

"For all these causes the employers hate the Chairmen and try to get rid of them, although they know that ousting the one merely means the election of another. They hope, as things go, to strike upon a fellow with whom they can shake hands and thus purchase immunity from the petty annoyances of tradeunion rules.

"The labor unions, which jealously shield their Chairmen, are also in a peculiar position in this respect. Most employ-

ers hate them, and society is prejudiced against their compulsive methods. As they are tolerated merely because they cannot be abolished, the unions find themselves struggling for existence like an army in a hostile country, and their generals resort to all kinds of war measures when their existence is endangered. The union, therefore, is not altogether wrong in keeping at the outposts such men as care for nothing but the union. For that reason the smartest and most unscrupulous persons become chairmen and walking delegates. In their fanatic zeal and jealousy rests the safety of the union. Persons with a natural regard for the feelings of others are out of place. Altruism and the sentiments of reciprocity do not belong where equal powers, needing and hating each other, struggle for supremacy.

"Thus, by mere force of circumstances, such persons generally become Chairmen as harbor in their brains the most perverted notions about the cause of labor and in their hearts the spirit of implacableness. Their ambition is not to progress in life by attending to business, but rather to become trade-union delegates, secretaries, presidents and so forth, which is considered a good way to gain a foothold in local politics. The ideal Chairman is the most querulous fault-finder and busy-body in the shop, who has the detectives' gift of combining possibilities to appear as facts. To entertain towards employers a certain sense of justice seems to him a kind of self-degradation, and in his decisions there is no trace of charity towards such fellow laborers who want to do unto their bosses as they would like the bosses to do unto them. Inflated to the point of combustion in the consciousness of his importance, he is intolerant as was the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, who thought his faith the more secure the greater the number of dissenters were killed, stoned or burned at the stake. Stuck to one confused web of politico-economic ideas, he has the piercing eye of a spider seeing everything that occurs within its own net but not the man who approaches it with a broom to sweep everything out of existence. His high opinion of himself as a precursor of a new civilization makes him look with disdain upon such fellow workingmen as think of their craft first and last. Without guile towards the union, he is full

of deceit against its opponents. When his union is weak, he crouches and merely whispers his orders; when it is strong, he bellows like a bull and treats his foreman and master as a country constable would treat a tramp. This, pastor, is your man. Now go and see him, and if you learn to judge him squarely, free from prejudice, then come again and let us consider how we can put the union on such a basis as will fore-stall its meddling with vulgar wiliness."

Provided with this knowledge, the reverend doctor went into the shop and kindly said: "Mr. Chairman, you know that I am interested in the apprentice, Charley. Will you please desist from ridiculing him for the sake of his Christian faith and stop discouraging him from learning your trade? He begins to speak about going into a store, and evidently dislikes this business. You know a man who does not love his vocation is his own enemy."

Out of sorts on account of the clerical frock with the straight collar, which is to an enlightened democrat what the red mantle of the toreador is to the bull, the Chairman retorted: "What do I care for the Christian faith since everything is evolution of species and struggle for existence? We ain't no fools any more since we know all about spontaneous generation. We are up-to-date people and don't want any more pious bunco-steering to the capitalistic camp. As for our trade, it is not good, because our union must continually support about five hundred men who are out of work. For that reason we don't want any more apprentices. The bosses, of course, would like to keep ten to one man, because their wages are lower than men's."

"But why do you support the idlers? It is a well known fact that most of them prefer five *given* dollars to ten *earned* ones."

"Because, if we do not support the idle men, the bosses will use them against us. These bums are, as Karl Marx says, the reserve army of the employers, wherewith they defeat labor when it strikes. So we had better hire them ourselves!"

"But, my dear sir, what will become of our boys if they are systematically kept out of the trades? Far too many wreck as clerks and salesmen."

With this exclamation of just indignation, the pastor touched

that point in the Chairman's brain at which common sense stands still while the wonderful kaleidoscope of modern illumination begins to revolve. "I don't know about that," he said, "but we are a progressive people. Everything will be changed before the boys grow up. The single land tax will stop the progress of poverty and bring to shame the lie of Malthus about the laborers ruining themselves by rearing too many children, as you can read in Henry George's book. The income from the unearned increment will be saved for the benefit of humanity and throw the gates of heaven ajar; yes, the unearned increment is the thing we want. And now, see here, pastor, would you not like to pay no rent? Just come and join the Single Tax Christian Society of the Tenth Ward—meets every Thursday at Jones'—would do you more good than to beat the antiquated drum of justification by faith every Sunday."

"Oh, my God," said the pastor, and retired. As he passed by my desk I looked at him inquiringly, noticing which he answered: "I know now what you mean when you speak of political economy without ethics."

"Yes, doctor, I mean millions of laborers in thousands of workshops who are subject to constant diminution of their incomes through the operation of competition, and whose minds are fertile ground for the seeds of hell, strewn by the demagogues and visionaries of the world."

"True enough; but if the tradeunions entrust their business to such men as your office chairman, it would indeed be better to forbid their existence by law."

"Why would you imitate those blood-stained French Revolutionists who, in the name of Liberty, promulgated the first conspiracy law of the present era²⁵ just when, in 1789, new-born liberty feasted on the blood of its enemies? If you consider the drift to association in business an evil trait of human nature, ameliorate it by wise laws and keep it under state control, but do not try to resist its manifestations or to eradicate it altogether. Stronger governments than ours have applied draconic measures against tradeunions and trusts and have utterly failed. Every skilled or unskilled workingman of our country is, or would like to become, a union man, and it seems as if every producer of our days would like to join a trust. Can a democracy

so far forget its tenets that it should coerce at least two-thirds of its industrial classes and compel them to remain passive when the evil principle of competition ruins their trades?"

"Well, what then shall we do?" sighed the doctor.

"Teach them to 'Observe all things I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'"²⁶ So said your Master. The Church has failed to teach the people the Scriptural truth in regard to the settlement of wages. Modern Christianity has countenanced the enormous fraud of the science of political economy, namely, that not God, but a blind, natural force—the so-called law of demand and supply—deals out justice to the laboring men in the workshop. 'Behold, the hire of the laborers which is of you kept back by (this) fraud crieth.'²⁷ It crieth through the foul mouth of the Office Chairman. Hear this cry and search the Scriptures and say not, when you find Moses, the Prophets, Apostles and Christ himself speaking of the settlement of the wages of earthly labor in the spirit of modern tradeunions that they meant something else than the wages of labor! And, when you then return, even unto the blasphemers, God will be with you."

III.—SOCIETY AND THE APPRENTICE.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF APPRENTICES.

Some time after the doctor's visit I received an invitation to participate in the formation of a Christian Society for the Protection of Apprentices. The circular letter read as follows:

"The education of apprentices is at present entirely neglected by employers and, as the future of the nation depends to a great extent on the character of those who will in after years form the important middle classes, it is evident that the continued neglect of young mechanics is fraught with great danger to society. Half-educated artisans who are unable to command good wages will swell the ranks of anarchists, and thus increase the ever-growing army of implacable enemies of our glorious institutions which come from foreign countries and form a standing menace to our liberty," etc.

After reading the call, signed by influential members of the Church, I thought: "These are words sown on stony ground; those who hear them will immediately receive them with gladness; but they have no root in themselves, and so endure but for a time."²⁸ Indeed, to expect an improvement of the character of our laboring population through schooling, without changing the business customs and laws which deteriorated it is as if a farmer would expect a rich harvest on a barren soil by inoculating some haulms without fertilizing the arid ground. Nevertheless I attended the meeting with the intention of furthering the cause to the best of my ability.

After the prayer for all conditions of men, the doctor opened the meeting by relating his experience with his Sunday-school boy in my printing office. But, instead of telling the churchmen that the general conditions of business, based on unlimited competition, render it impossible for industrials to attend to the moral objects of life, he said something about the materialistic tendencies of the age, etc. Protestant ministers seem to prefer, at least in America, to evade the real issue of the social question. But the Roman clergy seems willing to lay the ax to the root of the evils of our age, as Pope Leo XIII did especially in his celebrated encyclical letters, *Humanum Genus* and *Rerum Novarum*.

The doctor was followed by some speakers who paraphrased the often-heard popular expressions about American dexterity, greatness and self-sufficiency. Speaker number one thought nothing need be done, as our people were more skillful than any other on the globe. Number two thought that our boys were so smart that they could learn the handicrafts at the common school, playfully, while studying the A B C. Manual training in school is the thing, he said. Number three advised the Church to collect subventions for the trade schools, which had proved a great success, especially those managed by Jewish corporations. Number four preferred that all charitable and penal institutions should be turned into trade schools, so that we could turn thousands of good mechanics into our workshops as fast as the police justices kept on filling them with depraved human beings. The most remarkable part of these speeches was that they all encouraged churchmen to invest money for kindred pur-

poses, because it would amply repay society to support undertakings which would surely break the backbone of tradeunionism.

Finally I was asked to express my opinion on the various propositions for a substitute in place of the discarded apprenticeship system. I said:

ON TRADE SCHOOLS TO SUPPLANT APPRENTICESHIPS.

"Gentlemen of the Church Club: It seems to me that it behooves Christians to dismiss every proposition resting on the idea that any kind of schooling could ever supplant the time-honored system of educational servitude for young mechanics. All the remarks that I have heard so far in favor of what is called manual training rest on two fictions: First, that American boys are by nature more skillful and docile than others, and secondly, that modern industry does not require long apprenticeships. Even if these superficial hypotheses were true, I would not burden childhood with the labor of the workshops, but rather let it enjoy its spare time in playful mirth. Neither would I overtax the common schools with the task of developing the skill of their pupils in handicrafts. They have more than too much to do with the development of the intellect of the people, and the dissemination of such positive knowledge as modern society demands of its average members. I should prefer an extension of the curriculum rather than a contraction in favor of the development of skill. The common school is the most important institution of our nation for the preservation of its spiritual life and the maintenance of its high civilization. No part of it, not even the private sectarian schools, should be delivered over to the class of employers as a means to make up for their defections in the performance of their duties as stewards of a part of the commonwealth.

"Private trade-schools are nowadays looked upon with much favor. Young men are freely admitted, hustled through a course of manual training, and after a short time graduated as full fledged printers, plumbers, carpenters, etc. The promoters of such institutions claim, in enthusiastic language, that their system not only perfectly supplants the discarded system of

apprenticeship, but that it is even a great improvement on it. I have read many programmes of reputed trade schools; I have seen classes of various trades in full operation, and I have employed in the course of years quite a number of the graduates, and the result of my observations is that I look upon the American trade school system as a very poor makeshift of society to provide for a new generation of young mechanics.

"Of course it is better than nothing; but at its best the whole system is like a patent medicine which, manufactured by well-meaning doctors to meet an epidemic, is extolled by superficial advertising and every year taken by a few thousand boys in the vain hope that it will cure them and society of certain acute economic diseases. Supposing that the well-meaning philanthropists and ambitious pedagogues who push these trade schools for all they are worth were right in all which they claim for them, what good could a few private schools do for an industrial population of many millions?

"The reason why the method of training mechanics in school rooms is bound to fail is that it does not admit of individualization. The faculty of the soul on which mechanical skill depends is the power of intuition, that is, of seeing anything with the mind's eye on mere suggestions from within or without. A good general education consists in developing the scope of the intuitive faculty; that is, in increasing a person's available number of mind-pictures of outward things, and, by systematic exercise, to quicken and sharpen its operation. A good manual training depends on a similar development of the learner's intuitive faculties with a view to his future occupation. The things which he ought to hold in his mind's eye must primarily be those which belong to his trade. A skillful and quick workingman is one who has in his mind's store-room an ever available system of mind pictures of those things which he may possibly be called upon to reproduce in wood, leather, metal, etc.

"This precious faculty of intuition, however, is given to men in varying degrees. One person sees at a glance how a thing ought to be done, another must labor hard before he sees what is wanted, or what is going on before his very eyes. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that a teacher, especially in the mechanical arts, should have opportunity to study the mental quali-

ties of his pupils, and, in the progress of his endeavors, to treat each one separately and in a suitable manner.

"Every general scheme, be it ever so fine, is bound to fail. The tutor of the young mechanic encounters, besides the frailty of the intelligence of average boys, the peculiarities of their will-power. Boys are differently inclined, and their propensities must be treated with due circumspection. What is a bright, but bad boy? What is a willing, but dull boy? It is for the teacher to properly balance the diversities, the mental gifts and weaknesses of his pupils. In trade schools, where one tutor has a large number of boys to work upon according to a general scheme, his best endeavors must necessarily fail. Therefore, good and true artisans despise employers who keep more boys than they can individually teach. They hate trade schools, because they slight the intellectual nature of young men, and therewith one of the dearest interests of society. Christians ought to join honest mechanics in this respect and crush the evil which increases the number of half-witted, stubborn workingmen. Indeed, the factory system produces enough of those poor laborers who are always at sword's points with themselves and society because they can never enjoy the work of their own hands.

"I have had ample occasion during my career as an employing printer to judge of the performances of some of the best trade schools in existence. The directors of two orphan asylums of great religious communities asked me to establish printing offices for their inmates. There is something exceedingly charming for good Christian souls in the prospect that they can provide their parentless wards not only with a good Christian education, but also with the knowledge of a trade wherewith they can support themselves when they are delivered over to the world. Of course, directors of asylums also think it quite expedient to reduce the cost of maintenance of their charitable institutions by making the most of the youthful labor force of their wards. Truly, I often told the directors that they sinned against their unhappy wards by sending them into the world with a deficient knowledge for their vocation; I told them that they must engage a number of well-paid printertutors who know how to impregnate the habits of their

apprentices with the usages of the trade; and thus bring home to them the experience of thousands of craftsmen who have done the same thing over and over again, and know the best manner to do the work in the shortest time.

"They would not listen and would not pay the price which real masters of the trade command in open market. When then, for want of shop discipline, every year again their tools were ruined and their boys demoralized, they asked me to come and put their schools again to rights. I often bristled up and told these would-be benefactors that even by employing unpaid labor they would fail from a business point of view, which indeed happened sooner than they had expected.

"So far as the future of their boys was concerned, the directors thought of it with a sublime indifference. Whenever they had pupils to be launched upon the sea of life they looked to me to help them along, and I always found that these young persons could not stand on their own feet in a well organized shop. They had to go to employers who hire cheap labor and care very little for exact workmanship. Thus these half-trained boys became 'botchers' in the full sense of the word. There was no possibility of building up their technical character on the slim foundation laid in the trade schools. One of the beauties of tradeunionism in its present state of development is that it carries the theory of the survival of the fittest to an awful extreme; it compels employers to pay a very high minimal scale and to employ only the very best men in the prime of life, forcing them entirely to disregard the weaker persons. Of course, large employers will, from a business point of view, always fare better by paying the union scale of wages, and in consideration therefor take the best kind of labor which the union has for sale. But employers meet here and there with good boys and neglected young men of good character and trustworthy old men, all of whom they would like to help along, but are prevented from doing so by the union. 'Pay the scale,' they say, 'and never mind your weaker friends. Throw them overboard and into the pile of old bones in the "house of call." The union will take care of them—till they find a steady "sit" in a pauper's grave.' This is also one of the distressing features of the present state of war between the two producing classes, and

will be overcome only after an honorable peace shall have been made between the two powers contending for domination in the workshop. Industrial wars are hell, as Gen. Sherman said of civil wars.

TRADE SCHOOLS AS MEANS TO INCREASE THE SUPPLY OF LABOR.

"Let me now turn to the argument that trade schools are a social benefit because they have the power within them to undo tradeunionism, which is styled a contrivance to restrain traffic in labor, and therefore a public nuisance. I shall not enter upon the merits of these assertions, but merely ask you not to indulge in the foolish attempts of modern economy to postulate the existence of a natural law of demand and supply, and then to show how employers might get around this law by increasing the supply of labor, while you admit that tradeunionism is in itself a good contrivance to interfere with that self-same law in favor of labor. A queer law of nature that must be which can be manipulated by any party whom it affects unpleasantly! Remember that society has taught the laboring classes the art of reading and writing, and rest assured that tradeunions possess more sound economic knowledge than those universities which up to this date grope their way through the clouds of the dismal science of orthodox political economy. Moreover, it is not becoming for Christians to speak of any mysterious power on earth that rules over and above or by the side of God Almighty. If the law of demand and supply is God's law, neither employers nor laborers can evade it. If it is not God's law, but man's, then let us no longer recognize it as a factor in our industrial life.

"Supposing the trade schools could glut the market of labor so that employers could dictate wages and reduce the prices of commodities, what is it to society if, for example, each pair of boots or pantaloons costs a trifle less than formerly; and, on the other hand, what is it to the body politic if for the sake of this trifling another useful vocation is brought down to the level of pauperism? What is it to men of letters if books and periodicals cost a few dollars per year less than at present; but what is it to our country if, on account of these savings, the once

powerful printing trade were reduced to a standard as low as that of day laborers? Low prices obtained for low wages are a double curse, because they cripple the purchasing power of the home market and the moral and intellectual character of the best part of the people.

"It seems to me that in view of the present social disintegration of our body politic it amounts almost to a crime to favor any proposition tending to still further decrease the income of labor, because whatsoever widens the breach between our economic classes at the same time swells the ranks of those who stand ready to lay the ax to the roots of our civilization. The country needs the powerful organizations of highly educated and well-paid mechanics to stand between the invested productive capital and those who would like to destroy it. The final struggle of true liberty against the hosts of false democracy will soon be upon us and we cannot contend with their blind infatuation without the loyalty of those organized artisans whom a small class of selfish employers alienate by direct and indirect attacks upon their source of income. Churchmen should take to heart a simple truth, which is that the cause of God and our country is not identical with that of the employers. The country granted the employers more liberty in business than they could stand. Each wanted everything, and they all indulged in sinful and foolish competition among themselves until they have almost ruined their trades, and therewith endangered the incomes of those who have no share in the productive capital.

"I do not mean to say that the employers of our generation are the men who have ruined their trades by introducing sinful methods of competition. The truth is that the employers of our era are the bearers of the cumulative sins of those who preceded them. Burdened by the inherited load of low prices and corrupt conditions they are rather deserving of pity than reprimand, as they try to save their independence under the heavy yoke of tradeunions and trusts. But the methods which they adopt to attain their ends are bad. They want to ruin others to save themselves. 'They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable.'²⁹ They have extolled strife and the extinguishment of the weak as a great virtue, saying that

those who survive a competitive struggle are better than the vanquished ones. As there cannot be prosperity where there is discord, the prices of their products are diminished and insufficient to yield incomes large enough to preserve their standard of life; their plants are depreciated and their wealth is dwindling away. Now they cry like children and look for somebody to blame for their own misdeeds. They would like to shift the fine of retributive justice upon their laborers, but the tradeunion is in their way. Therefore they hate this institution and solicit the help of society to destroy it. Shall Christians countenance such a beginning?

"I answer No! and will add that, if the time has come for churchmen to interfere in the vindictive strife now raging among the industrial classes, it is certainly not their mission as Christians to take sides therein in order to bring one party into the subjection of the other; but to hush the impassioned crowds with Christ's majestic and comforting 'Peace be with you!'

ON THE ORGANIZATION OF TRADES.

"I venture to ask the representative churchmen of America to speak this awe-inspiring word of God to the American tradesmen, whó have been taught by the great liars of the century that strife without end is their destiny. I do so because I think it is the duty of Christians to cast off their passiveness in regard to economic questions before the delusion of individualism destroys the faith of eternal justice on earth.

"Moreover, the time seems propitious to speak to tradesmen of those things which 'Belong unto their peace, and which are now hid from their eyes.'³⁰ I have spent a lifetime among employers and journeymen, and have always felt the pulse of their intellectual life. It beats very slowly now. The employers' organizations know that they cannot gain an inch of ground by warring against the journeymen's; they are forced to remain on the defensive, while the idea is dawning upon them that peace with their men will draw a natural line on competition and stop further decrease of their own share of the income of the nation from industry. The journeymen's organizations begin to comprehend that Living Wages cannot be got without Living

Prices, and if they do not abstain from strife their partners, the employers, will never get the Living Prices from which to pay the Living Wages.

"But, alas! 'The way of peace they have not known,'³¹ because the employers are proud of their capital and the journeymen of their skill and numbers, and 'Their mouth speaketh great swelling words.'³²

"Now, churchmen, bring to them the message that ye heard from the beginning, 'That we should love one another.'³³ Encourage the two associations to gather their representatives for the purpose of shutting the door to violence, that justice may enter the workshops. What is justice? It is not the boss's arbitrariness, by which he alone prospers; nor is it the union's tyranny, by which that body alone can exist. No; justice in the workshop is that Common Rule by which all can prosper; that Common Rule which is in truth nothing but a codification of those usages, privileges and immunities which the two contending parties, in their struggle for domination, have extorted from and yielded to each other.

"Let each trade convention institute a government somewhat of the nature of our national government, with three co-ordinate branches to legislate according to the Common Rule, to execute its provisions and to interpret and decide conflicts arising under them. In short, let there be a legislative assembly, an executive body, and a perfect judicial department to cover all exigencies of trade life, composed of men of each class in even numbers, and let all things be done decently and in order. 'For God is not an author of confusion, but of peace.'³⁴

"Of course there will be many objections to this plan. But I care not what gentlemen may say so long as my economic and political theses are not against God's and my country's laws. I want an end to the state of anarchy under which employing craftsmen lead an unprofitable life full of anxieties. I want Peace and Justice to kiss each other³⁵ right there in the workshop where I have to spend most of my time. I want to extinguish the life of the false democracy with its petty tyranny in the name of liberty. I want the walking delegate, the chairman and the tradeunion star-chamber justice and every form of bossism to depart from our communities, never to re-

turn. I want to have a voice in the most important affairs of my business, and I will gladly sacrifice for this boon my imaginary shop autocracy, based on my rights of property in my plant and willingly surrender my absolute workshop power into the hands of the best and most skilled men which the trade may select. I want to pave the way for the entry of the true democracy into our social system, with law and order resting on trade organization which will insure, even unto the workshop, that peace of God which is higher than all the teachings of modern political economy without ethics.

TRUE APPRENTICESHIP.

"How will the guild of the twentieth century regulate the apprenticeship system? Will it abide with the dictum of the modern phrase-makers who declare educational servitude to be derogatory to manhood and against the spirit of democracy? I do not believe it. Good artisans of either class are not charmed by the mysterious power of erudite phraseology when it comes to settle business affairs. The objectionable term 'servitude' can no more be applied to the social state of students of the mechanical arts than to students of the liberal arts and professions. As long as there is a period of unripeness in man's life, so long will there be a necessity of debarring the unripe by custom and law from the practice of things requiring the state of maturity. Good mechanics of all countries think to this day, like the craftsmen of the Middle Ages, that the workshop is the boy's proper school, and that the master amidst his men and tools is the right teacher of the industrial arts. The new guild, whose main task consists in bringing home to masters, journeymen and apprentices the points at which their liberties begin and end, will say: A man must not only learn his trade before he can practice it, but also learn it 'in a workmanlike manner,' and not, as the pedagogues think, in the manner of amateurs.

"The new guild will turn a deaf ear to the enormous quantity of erudite bosh which has been written about the time required by an average boy to learn a trade. Modern artisans know the fallacy of the statement that steam power and the division of

labor had made it almost unnecessary to expend time or money for the purpose of learning any particular trade. True, it is very difficult for even a candid and careful observer to overlook all the ramifications of industry in order to arrive at safe general conclusions on this subject. I venture to speak only for my own—the printer's—trade, and perhaps for some others whose general condition I have studied, not as a closet-scholar, but as a business man. My conclusions, based on experience, are diametrically opposed to the current notion on the subject. The more machinery is introduced in production and the more intricate these iron competitors of hand labor become, the more knowledge, fidelity and training will be needed by any one entering the trade. For the printer's trade I would stipulate fully seven years of apprenticeship. I have been at it more than forty years and, though not a dunce, must still learn.

"True guilds will also disown the current statement that the revival of the apprenticeship system is impracticable, because the small masters have disappeared since the arrival of the steam engine. Indeed, the number of small masters, working with a few men and many apprentices, is growing smaller every year. But the master of his trade exists and will exist as long as society prefers mastery to botchery. The greater the capital invested in industrial plants and the larger the yearly output of each, the greater is the need of perfect masters. Woe to the factory owner who does not believe it necessary to surround himself with a staff of men who know even more than he himself. The mere possession of tools no more gives the title of master than the possession of books gives title to a doctor's dignity. He who knows what to do with implements may become a master as he who knows how to use books a doctor. It is a misleading opinion that the tendency to manufacture on a large scale has deprived mastership of its economic value. On the contrary the greater the manufacturing establishments, the greater are the salaries paid, not only for the knowledge, but more so for the fidelity of their staff, most of whom are indeed better situated financially than were the small masters of the past with their own little plants.

"At the time when I served my apprenticeship there was yet a master for each apprentice—an old and tried journeyman who

acted as 'coach.' He received remuneration for his services out of my earnings, and whatsoever I am to-day as a printer I owe to this good old tutor. I cannot but think with deep emotion of the years during which I stood at his side, he teaching me the little things one by one, which in their totality make up my trade, and I rendering him all the little personal services which he needed on account of his age. Only minds perverted by the sovereign bombast of equality can say that there is anything derogatory to manhood in relations of this kind. I venture to conclude that in every establishment there are better masters and better teachers to handle the better tools than in the old domestic industry, where the apprentice was mostly a servant in the family. But the good men who do this work of love must be paid for their exertions, and it is not just to let the owners of the plants exploit them and their wards.

"Of course, regulations suitable for the printing trades may not be good for other branches of industry. The modern idiosyncrasy of generalizing every law to regulate industrial affairs must give way to a well considered method of specializing them according to the needs of every class of workers. Let the organized trades carry the American idea of self-government right into their shops, and there will be no more apprentice, labor, and social questions for professors to answer with erudite speculation.

ON TRADE SCHOOLS TO SUPPLEMENT APPRENTICESHIPS.

"So far, gentlemen, I have merely asked for your kind offices as mediators between the organized masters and journeymen, who, in their mad struggle for domination, have downtrodden the apprentice and hardened the soil on which he must grow. Let me now ask you to supplement the apprenticeship system by a practical extension of the common school system. This is needed in order to invoke the 'Holy spirit of discipline which will flee from deceit and remove from thoughts that are without understanding,'³⁶ that it may again abide with us evermore. Why should society render direct assistance to the trades in this respect? Can they not comply with all their conditions of existence without the help of others? They cannot! Society now

requires of each individual far more mental activities than in former ages. The democratic form of government imposes on all male adults a considerable amount of such mental exertion as monarchies reserve for the privileged classes. The American mechanic is expected not only to do his daily work, but also to participate in the government of municipalities and states. At the same time the average mechanic is apt to suffer intellectually from the economic principle of the division of labor with its tendency to specialize the daily manipulations. It is for political society a simple question of self-preservation to provide for schooling which will broaden the general views of the average mechanic and provide the brighter boys who aspire to masterships with a deep insight into the final causes of law and order—yea, of humanity's existence on earth.

"In order to better understand what method should be adopted for this grand purpose, let us begin by asking: What has society done thus far to sustain the intellectual life of those working people who are endowed by nature merely with ordinary mental gifts? What has society done to assist and direct those energetic few who started out in life with the intention to conquer the world? And last, but not least, in what manner does our state prepare its growing citizens for the civil duties of judging important economic and political questions? Ah! there's the rub! Society has furnished common schools and provides its pupils with the art of reading and writing. Of course, this is good, as it presents the opportunity for each boy to become a professor in the same manner as the present business system gives each factory boy a chance to become a millionaire. However, experience has shown that the art of reading and writing can also be a double-edged sword with which many hurt themselves and others. Society having failed to develop the ideas of liberty and law, equality, discipline, etc., has opened the door to an army of deceived deceivers who have made the public mind restless and unhappy with thoughts which have no foundation and hopes that are born to fade away.

"In our childish innocence we have relied on our free press to educate the people. We never thought that there might be editors who, for the sake of gain, would drug and even poison the intellectual aliment of our people. But we ought to know now

what Christ meant when he said: 'Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts,'⁸⁷ and try to develop pure and refined ideas even among the mechanics. If society will not do it, the devil undoubtedly will take advantage of its sin of omission.

"Furthermore, for active and spirited boys we have all kinds of evening schools and institutes of learning. Numberless magazines popularize the sciences. In fact, we have decked a table as for a banquet with the most delicious dishes, and we invite, cajole and coax our boys to come and partake of our intellectual food, free of charge. Indeed, cheerfully they come and taste of everything, until their overladen stomachs are out of order. We furnish them with a smattering of every science, but fail to strengthen them for any particular profession and for the performance of their civil duties. American society, as an educator of its youth, has forgotten that intellectual food must not only be partaken but also digested. Therefore, we have made peevish sciolists of our best and brightest young men. This is a cumulative sin, because, as things go in America, these strong-minded young men in the various trades are the real leaders of the working people. Man is an imitative creature, and the masses speak and act thoughtlessly after their self-chosen leaders. One witty individual sets the fashion and all others follow him to good or evil, as the case may be. So far we have failed to make the best of this trait of human character.

"Should we not, as patriots and Christians, do all we can for those talented boys who will exert a lasting influence in their chosen circles? Should we not educate such persons who will, in after years, by the force of circumstances, strike the keynote of popular volition? It seems to me an easy thing to raise hosts of missionaries in every trade who will, without being told, reform their class and therewith every commonwealth in which industry predominates.

"But how can we accomplish this grand purpose? Let us reform the evening classes of the common schools throughout the country in such a way that they become trade schools to supplement the apprenticeship system. Instead of devoting our schools and their educational means to geographical districts, let us assign them to the different trades located in each com-

munity. Instead of calling the boys of districts together to meet as individuals and to pick up a bit of incoherent knowledge here and there, ask them to meet as printers, machinists, carpenters, etc., in order to learn the unity of the single manipulation of each work-day.

"A boy can devote to school, in each winter season, about eight hours per week. Therefore, the school board should select from the great number of useful objects of instruction only such as are directly beneficial to the trades of the scholars. By no means should the teacher consider the evening trade school a mere continuation of the common day school. What is taught and the method of teaching should conform to the requirements of the handicraft represented in the school.

"The vernacular, arithmetic, the rudiments of geometry and drawing are the branches which will fill the time allotted for the first few years. Each trade must have special readers, which carry the pupil, while learning the language into the sciences of which their trades are mere applications. Arithmetic, single entry bookkeeping and the drawing up of balance sheets can also be adjusted to the requirements of various handicrafts. The drawing exercises can conform to the needs of the workshop, and must be different for printers, carvers, machinists, etc. The clearer the scholar sees the connection between his studies and his craft the greater will be his zeal to learn.

"Of course, the general plan of instruction requires many changes to suit the different trades and the circumstances under which they work. To come as nearly as possible to perfection there ought to be representative school boards of each trade, employers and employees of even number, to superintend the schools in conjunction with the scientific pedagogues. Such school boards can wield the compulsion needed to insure discipline better than any State law or truant officer. The united trades have a decisive power over parents and boys, because they can, if it comes to the point, throw persistent offenders and bad characters out of the trade altogether. To wield this power judiciously is most wholesome in a country where the delusions of liberty take the form of licentiousness.

HIGH TRADE SCHOOLS.

"The common trade schools in industrial centers must terminate in a system of high schools, in which the primary courses of instruction can be carried forward. The sciences of machinery, natural philosophy, chemistry, together with modeling and professional drawing, should be added thereto, but even the most complete trade schools do not complete the task of the Society of the Twentieth Century. The talented young artisans must be prepared, not only for the high offices of industry, but also for those of civil life. Business needs well trained foremen, superintendents and managers; tradeunions and popular benefit associations need trustworthy officials, and our democratic society requires representatives of the working classes in the governmental corporations of the nation.

"Men fit for these offices can only be educated through systematic courses in the science of state. The future leaders of the people must understand the basic principle of human action—that is, ethics. However, the mere communication and commitment to memory, either of God's code of morals, or of any other code postulated by some philosophical school, is insufficient. The science of ethics must explain the final aim of society, and show the reasons why religion and philosophy have codified certain rules of conduct, and why society exacts implicit obedience to the laws of State, morality, and custom.

"Next in order is the science of democratic government, or the doctrine of how society secures its material and spiritual welfare through organizations and why all human associations, from the simplest benefit society and tradeunion to those of State and church, evolve law and how they enforce it with equity.

"Political economy is to be considered as the science of how society produces and distributes the means of subsistence within the limits of the moral code. In our age of dissensions the laboring classes ought to know the history of the industrial democracy of the Middle Ages, in its prime and in its decline, in order to understand the present era of triumphant capital and to avoid the errors of the past, while building up the industrial democracy of the twentieth century.

"Last, but not least, we must teach esthetics, or the science of beauty and taste. The people should learn not only to admire, but also to understand those works of art which convey to the soul images of that world which is invisible to the natural eye. The fine arts will at some future period be the bearers of the next revival of true religion, because their works have the quality to convey to the heart of the deaf that which words can never express.

"Let me beseech those men of science, who doubtingly smile at my proposition, not to give way to the common prejudice that the fountainhead of human knowledge and action must forever remain hidden to workingmen. Truth and beauty move the heart of the mechanic as deeply as that of the man of leisure, and the plain man is sometimes as capable as the man of letters, and often far more ardent than he to transmute his feelings into clear and well-defined conceptions.

"I have lived and striven with apprentices, held my post among the workingmen, where they toil in shops for scant wages and where they meet in dingy barrooms to right their wrongs by common action, and I learned, with aching heart, how they are fooled by the humbugs of all nations. I also became a master among the bosses, and like all of them, I have learned well how to play the part of a jolly colleague and a rogue at the same time, ever ready to take their work and their income away, saying: 'Shake hands, my friend, this is business.' I know where the shoe pinches them, and how eagerly they swallow the medicine of every charlatan who promises to drive the ugly tape-worm of selfishness out of their trade bodies, without killing the head of the parasite—unlimited competition. From a life of ceaseless struggle for self-maintenance and knowledge, I have gained one deep-rooted conviction, namely, that life in the dingy workshop engenders the ardent desire for knowledge and enlightenment far more than the genteel existence in luxury amidst libraries or in gilded counting rooms; and that it is a defect in our educational system to withhold the cup of knowledge from the working classes and to prevent the truth-seekers among them from acquiring wisdom and power.

"Thus the intellectual faculties are stunted among those social orders with whom the problem of self-maintenance has grown most difficult. Confounded by the notions of liberty and equality, excited by the failure of free governments to carry their delusive promises into effect, and incited by professional agitators, the workingmen demand a knowledge of the causes which prevent the realization of their dreams of happiness. With sledge hammers they knock violently on the doors of science and demand with threatening mien an answer to the natural question: Why must we suffer? Why must we obey the 'Thou Shalt' of the law?

"Depend on it, gentlemen of the pulpit and the rostrums, the anarchist is the crooked interrogation point, standing at the end of a long paragraph, composed of phrases which express the different phases of the labor question. The materialistic commonplaces of socialism, which have bred it, cannot remove the nasty thing from sight. Gallows and electric chairs surround it with a nimbus. Theological and rationalistic subtleties have long ago ceased to satisfy the solicitous inquiries of the working classes.

"Men must be born from the womb of the toiling people, who, feeling and speaking as workingmen do, can also think the thoughts of philosophers and lawgivers. A nation, organized by trades, which makes the rational sciences of ethics, politics and esthetics common property, will bring forth the monitors, leaders, and instructors of the 'common lot.' Pave the way for them, and rest assured that a better informed generation will come after the present one shall have been buried with its illusions and malice. America above all will bring forth a race of men which will smile at our perplexities and peaceably solve those social problems, at the sight of which we now flutter for help from the Salvation Army to the army of destruction with bayonets and cannon."

THE FIRST PRINTERS' TRADE SCHOOL IN NEW YORK.

This appeal pleased the Churchmen, and they decided to form a society for the discussion of the labor question, with special regard to the needs of apprentices. They elected officers, invited eminent speakers, and after each lecture discussed the theme and its conclusions. I believe that the members of the society, providing that they are alive, are still discussing the interesting subject. I look upon Hamlet as the very prototype of the American reformer; for he knows what he ought to do, but he never does it, because he always reasons upon the subject.

The doctor, however, with his open heart and clear head, said to me: "It is not necessary to wait for the employers' and journeymen's unions to start a trade school; you and I can establish one for young printers. Will you join?" "In the name of God," I responded, "let us try!"

Our request for the use of the Sunday-school rooms of one of the prominent churches for our trade school was gladly granted, and we began our work with four teachers and about twenty apprentices. The school found favor with high and low, but the teachers found it too burdensome to labor without remuneration. Besides, my competitors in business stood aloof, because the best boys in the trade wanted to come to me, and the Typographical Union assumed an inimical attitude toward the undertaking. About two years later the doctor died, and the whole burden of the school rested on my shoulders, which were then heavily laden with private troubles. One winter evening a "printer's devil" of the junior class made his way up to the belfry and rang the ancient church bell, sending its mournful sound through the quiet winter night. The whole neighborhood was alarmed, and frightened people asked each other: "What can the matter be?" It was merely the death knell of the first New York printers' trade school that had sounded at this midnight hour in the year 1878.

IV.—THE APPRENTICE IN THE MARKET.

THE FIRM OF HOOKS & CROOKS.

About a year later Charley left his place. After the death of my old friend, the doctor, the mission chapel on the East Side had passed into the charge of a young clergyman who had just come from college. He was one of the many American ministers, who, feeling that something must be done to bring workingmen into the churches, preach orthodox political economy in order to argue the devil of socialism out of the hearts of the workingmen whose wives usually belong to their parishes. Though a curate, that is, a caretaker of souls, he had never studied the soul, that mysterious entity which he was to take care of; and, therefore, he did not know that socialism is an inclination of the heart, like hatred or love, or, perhaps, the mixture of both—jealousy—and consequently entirely inaccessible to reason. It never occurred to him that orthodox political economy is one of those sciences "That understands all mysteries yet has not charity, and therefore is nothing."²⁸ He lacked the perceptive power of sympathy, by which his noble predecessor understood all things, and made even the anarchist love and obey him.

With a dogmatical method of treating economic questions in the pulpit and in private conversation, the young clergyman soon lost the ground which the doctor had gained by judging of human frailties with loving kindness and charity. As plain workingmen generally do, when asked by Christian ministers to consider their present status in our social structure with favorable eyes, they stigmatized him as one of the many mysterious emissaries of capital, paid to benumb the brains of workingmen with what they call the narcotic poison of religion. The parishioners left him, and I severed my connection with the church, deeming it a thankless task to work upon that peculiar field of labor under charge of the new clergyman.

Oh! what a cumulative sin is committed by those wealthy Christians, who endow the chairs of political economy in our universities and allow them to be occupied by professors who

postulate as a fundamental tenet, that neither Christian nor pagan ethics have anything to do with business and wealth.

One Saturday morning the young clergyman and Charley's father came and asked for a considerable advance in the wages of the boy. I was informed that the firm of Hooks & Crooks had offered Charley even more than the sum demanded of me, but that I should have the preference, if, etc. I flatly refused, on the ground that it was a bad principle to let competition step in between master and apprentice. "Besides," I said, "the boy cannot even pass as a two-thirder, and his behavior is no longer what it formerly was. It seems to me that the Church is losing its influence over his habits." The young clergyman, who blamed me for his difficulties with the workingmen of his district because I had left his chapel, improved on the occasion to lecture me on political economy and to censure me for publicly expressing my conviction that society had sinned far more against the laboring classes than individual laborers had sinned against society. He concluded by saying: "You hate the American system of competition, which is the natural and therefore God's own method of distributing earthly wealth. Does not the case prove it? I know the firm of Hooks & Crooks. They are ardent churchmen, and employ none but church-members. They do the printing for my chapel now, and charge lower prices for it than you did. Moreover, they are willing to pay higher wages to Charley than you are. So I was right in calling the attention of this good firm to Charley, for whose welfare I am as responsible as I am for the prices which my church pays for its work. I shall not let you stand in Charley's way. It seems to me that people, like the Hooks & Crooks, who decrease prices and raise wages are public benefactors."

"Charley's father," I answered, "acts in this affair according to his principles, which I knew before I took his son into my employ, and I expected his interference ever since the doctor left us; still, I cannot help giving expression to my grief that a minister of the Church, who prays every Sunday, 'O Lord, incline our hearts to keep thy laws,' should countenance those wicked men who incline the hearts of simple people to break God's law through questionable business methods. Neverthe-

less, I pardon you for the wrong which you inflict on this boy and me. You merely do what thousands consider right. The final guilt rests with the Church militant, which struck arms at the beginning of the century, when the world set aside God's law on the relationship between master and servant and replaced it with the law of selfishness."

"Which law of God did the Hooks & Crooks transgress? Which sin have I countenanced?"

This tone of authority, however, did not confound me. The Scripture says:³⁹ "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, nor his man servant, nor his maid servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." Apply the spirit of this law to our age and it reads thus: "Thou shalt not covet thy competitor's business, nor his foremen and apprentices, nor his productive capital (which consisted at Moses's time mostly of oxen and asses), nor anything that is his." However, the Hooks & Crooks take my apprentices after I have had the trouble of teaching them the trade; thus they get cheap labor, and, though charging lower prices, earn more money than others. They bribe my foremen and trusted workingmen to leave me when I need them to fill my contracts; thus they destroy the reputation of their neighbors for punctuality and reliability. They covet and take my confidential bookkeepers in order to find out my prices and to know my customers; then they offer their services for mere nominal prices and intimate that I habitually abuse the confidence of my business friends by charging extortionate prices. In this way they destroy their competitor's good name, which is as valuable in business as capital. Finally, the Hooks & Crooks covet the business of the entire country, and by monopolizing the market of their products, they depreciate the productive capital of all their fellow tradesmen.

- The worst of all is that the Hooks & Crooks wield an evil power over their competitors which none can withstand. At their beck even Christian gentlemen are compelled to follow their destructive policy; they must reduce wages to a starvation point, and turn a deaf ear to the admonitions of philanthropists who justly complain that female virtue and the family life of the laboring people are ruined through the opera-

tions of certain producers. Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, is the maxim which the Hooks & Crooks have forced on the whole business community; thereby raising a whirlwind of sin and compelling every producer to combat wrong by wrong, trick by trick. Whoever admits thoughts of sympathy and charity to his counting room will fail some day if he have no monopoly for himself.

THE DECALOGUE ON THE STATUS OF LABOR.

How did the bad elements of society get the upper hand in business? When at the beginning of the present century the progress of industry in England required a revision of the antiquated laws regulating industry, the Hooks & Crooks of every trade conspired with the Manchester professors of political economy to abrogate all restraints on competition. They made the best of the popular illusions of liberty and equality, and persuaded the Government to abolish the celebrated apprenticeship law of Queen Elizabeth, which was the workingman's mainstay of protection against the abuse of employers. After a long agitation, the conspiracy was successful. Parliament repealed the time-honored law in 1814, although three hundred thousand Englishmen petitioned for the preservation and adaption of its spirit to the modern wants, while only two thousand declared themselves in favor of entire abrogation of the law. From that day the Hooks & Crooks have had the right of way in society and state. All tricks of competition received an official warrant and the gates were thrown ajar for the corruption of business morality. The ancient craft-guilds were dissolved, and thus society lost its most reliable means of influencing the inner life of the industrial world through the preservation of wholesome trade usages.

When the smartness of the world overruled the wisdom of ages, the Church of England kept silent. Many clergymen even threw their anathemas against those poor English laborers who attempted to clog the wheels of progress which crushed their homes, by forming most primitive tradeunions. I believe it can safely be said that the English ministry tacitly

accepted the doctrines of political economy as sufficient reason to approve of the violent change in the status of the laboring classes of modern society.* Yet, how exceedingly shallow, nay even silly, is the gist of the arguments which overawed the guardians of Christ's estate on earth. It was said that laborers were not servants, as the Bible says, but merchants selling a peculiar commodity—labor. Therefore, they should not be treated in law as a social order with special interests, but as individual tradesmen, free to bargain for their commodity with any one, at any price, and at any time.

The Church forgot the admonition of St. Peter⁴⁰ against false prophets who privily bring in damnable heresies, and who through covetousness, with feigned words, make merchandise of labor, as the professors of political economy virtually did. It had no words of reproof against the excessive liberty in trade which the capitalists demanded, although St. Paul says,⁴¹ "Use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. But if you bite and devour another (as modern Christians do when competing with another) take heed that ye be not consumed one of another."

The poor people feel very much exalted in rank and dignity. Apprentices run from their masters whenever they like. Journeymen come and go as they please. Servants sell their stock in trade, labor, whenever they see fit. Even paupers can settle in marriage anywhere without regard to consequences. Capitalists can unsettle any village or city by bringing there any number of foreign paupers to counteract domiciled laborers. And, oh, what a boon! Not even the poorest is forbidden to open any kind of business and to acquire millions of dollars, and nobody asks how he does it!

So the gigantic swindle on the laboring classes works well.

*I quote only a few examples: Between the years 1833-4, two justices who were clergymen, near Chipping Morton, sent 16 laborers' wives, some with infants at breast, to prison at hard labor, for intimidating non-union men. On Sept. 2, 1872, Dr. Ellicot, Bishop of Gloucester, speaking at a meeting of the Agricultural Society, significantly suggested the village horsepond as a fit destination for delegates sent to open Union Branches.—Webb, *History of Trade Unionism*, 317.

Indeed, reading the literature of that period on the happiness which was to come over the poor working people through the new-fangled notion of absolute liberty in competition, is just like reading the socialistic papers of our own age. As extravagant as these are in their promises and as violent as they are in their denunciations of dissenters, so were the newspapers which propagated the democratic illusions of the nineteenth century in every respect.

America was not slow to adopt those English economic principles which placed all men on a level in the race for wealth, and nowhere was it easier than in the "new world" for strong and unscrupulous business men to dominate over society and government through the methods of unlimited competition.

The Hooks & Crooks speculate on the fact that the commodity, labor, is attached to the persons of the laborers, and that hunger and want are irresistible motives for laborers to accept starvation wages. In accordance with this idea, they advertise their demand for labor among the poor inhabitants of Ireland, Italy, Hungary, etc., and convey to them the illusion that the American brand of liberty and equality in business insures affluence to all immigrants, because the States are not headed by monarchs. The Hooks & Crooks need not enter into labor contracts with Europeans. The poor foreigners, metaphorically called "the down-trodden victims of tyranny," listen to the enchanting song of freedom and come without being asked in endless numbers to serve as volunteers of the Hooks & Crooks in their wrangle with home labor. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked, for whatsoever a man soweth, that he shall also reap."⁴²

THE LIBERTY OF MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT.

Well may the Hooks & Crooks of every trade extol, with ecstatic effusions, the modern freedom of migration, which enables them effectually to reduce their payrolls through the steady supply of cheap European labor. But the destructive use which they make of this dangerous privilege of unbalancing the labor markets of their towns and States for their

individual gain necessarily strikes at the vital principles of American government. Political society in the republican form of state is held together by moral ties which do not admit of compulsion of any kind for the ends of class domination. The holy bond which overcomes in our commonwealth the existing diversities of race, religion, education and wealth, is the fellowship of all classes in the ups and downs of our common country. It is woven by faithful devotion to our common interests and our trustworthiness in the performance of all civil and social duties. Old associations, in the joys and sorrows of our individual and national struggle for material and moral self-maintenance, unite whatsoever is separated by differences of rank and race. This fellowship in weal and woe cements the apprentice to the master, the operative to the factory owner, the rich and well-bred to the poor and untutored, and it enables the people to build up and preserve our towns and our institutions.

The Hooks & Crooks destroy the moral ties of our social body. They hate, like anarchists, every principle tending to promote mutual love and respect among the industrial classes. They want the social war to last forever, because they are stronger than labor, and, therefore, sure in every competitive struggle to appropriate the lion's share of their common product. Their maxim is that of the ancient Roman slaveholders: Divide and Rule! which means in modern language: Forbid the unions and control the prices of goods as well as wages of labor.

How do the Hooks & Crooks disintegrate our commonwealth? Look at the happenings in my workshop. Something like genuine Christian fellowship grew up between the apprentice and the inimical workingmen. There was a bond of friendship between the economic community of this workshop and the religious community of the East Side Chapel. The beneficent spirit, emanating from its pastor, permeated the hearts of the infidel workingmen. The anarchist father's perverseness, the union's fallacies, and the blatant words of the Chairman could not prevent the apprentice from prospering. But the Hooks & Crooks, courting the patronage of the Church and coveting their neighbor's apprentice, sowed dis-

cord and tore asunder what charity had joined together. They filled the soul of the spiritual guardian of the apprentice with distrust of his employer and aroused those selfish motives in the father's heart which his spiritual adviser should have suppressed. They ruthlessly tore the boy from the soil in which he had happily struck root in spite of all obstacles, and cast him adrift, too weak to keep himself on the surface, an object of pity, destined to drown in his attempts to swim along the stream with a wrangling multitude of incompetent laborers.

Mark what the Hooks & Crooks are doing on a larger scale in our industrial towns and villages. Wherever an industry grows up in charge of well-meaning employers who satisfy the hopes and wishes of their laborers, there appear these notorious firms. At first, they want a foothold on the market, and gain it by reducing prices at a diminution of profit. Society admires them for this, and looks with distrust upon the older firms. Soon the Hooks & Crooks aspire to control the market. Large sales must make up for small profits. Cutting of prices begins soon to culminate in a mad competitive struggle. Wages decrease, women and children must work in the factories to help to earn enough for the bare necessities of life. Strikes and lockouts follow each other in rapid succession. Suddenly tribes of Hungarians or Italians appear upon the scene. They know nothing of American habits and sentiments, and work for wages upon which no American family can subsist.

Sentimentalists think that American influences will elevate the foreigners, but experience teaches the reverse. Where masses of low-bred immigrants reduce the American standard of life, there begins a general degeneracy of American customs and modes of thought. Native laborers who find themselves deprived of the comforts of home life through the force of circumstances are sure to lose their faith in God and man.

After a while the old inhabitants give up the struggle against the foreigners. Beaten in every strike, they either gradually fall to the level of the invaders; or, being impoverished, take to the pilgrim's staff and lead the life of homeless nomads. Nobody knows or cares whence the strangers came or whither the natives go. It is all business, you know, and the Hooks &

Crooks have the constitutional right to bring any number of paupers into any community, with the clear intent through their agency to impoverish the domiciled population. It is their privilege to reduce their payroll through any stratagem, and they are in no way responsible for the burden of maintaining those whom they pauperize. Any commonwealth which they choose for their operations may thus be victimized, and the small storekeepers and liquor dealers joyfully assist them.

When then the laborers feel that they have been mystified by the illusions of liberty, they form tradeunions in the name of the self-same liberty to protect themselves against wrongs which they cannot define, and which the law does not define for them. They know that their economic conditions deteriorate year by year, and that their self-elected governments operate, for the sake of peace, against the interests of such American laborers as attempt in a body to preserve their standard of life. Having no recourse to law against the wicked manipulations of the labor market by the Hooks & Crooks, they begin to hate the government which surrenders them to their mercy, and often resort, also in the name of liberty, to violence and crime, deeming it a violation of their constitutional rights if Presidents and Governors station military in their neighborhood to preserve the peace. Then the Hooks & Crooks who commit moral wrongs in legal form upon helpless communities, together with many professors, politicians, and clergymen, denounce the poor laborers as uncivilized and unworthy foreign elements of our great and wealthy republic. Of course, they also ask the government, in the name of liberty and peace, for soldiers to substitute a régime of terror for a reign of law, brutal imperialism for true democracy. This is true of every important commonwealth in our beloved country.

CITY LIFE.

I ask the patriots who see the curse of liberty work its way and would like to hold back its progress: Do I exaggerate? How can there be sympathy for the public weal among the working people? How can that sentiment of love for the com-

monwealth develop in the tenement house districts of our large cities, without which there cannot be that public spirit which fosters public virtue? How can discordant elements, separated by diversities of language, religion, and blood, foster their commonwealth and feel an interest in its well-being?

Industrial giants impelling incessant speculation create a restlessness and haste among the skilled and unskilled masses of laborers that drive them in search of chances from town to town. Senseless competition keeps them in a state of constant migration from place to place, from street to street, from house to house. The sturdy artisans and poor day-laborers, the small tradesmen and mechanics, those having a little capital as well as those living on credit, all must follow the mysterious beck of the industrial magnates. The small householders fly hither and thither, where new hopes or better prospects brighten the horizon, or where there are grocers and butchers who do not know how much the newcomers owe in other quarters. Each business misfortune compels a change of residence, each promise of triflingly higher wages, as well as each reduction of income, creates a shiftiness and nervousness which cannot allow a thought of the common affairs to arise. There is either a general stagnation of business, which is to the industrial population like a whirlwind, scattering neighbors and separating too often fathers, mothers and children, while the cherished household goods go to the auction room or pawnbroker. Or there is a rush of business during which all make money and spend it foolishly. Why should the poor care? The next cloud is already rising in Wall Street. It will surely burst, and the little savings of the laborers will certainly disappear in the torrent about to sweep through the industrial world. Be happy, then, while the sun shines, drink and smoke, sing and dance, and curse the long-faced Yankee who talks of virtue and temperance.

The people hope for good luck; this of course means easy acquisition of money. The world teaches them that money is the *summum bonum*. All hunt for it, and by what means it is acquired is immaterial. Now, as the passion goes they gamble in lotteries, or, if they can, in Wall Street. To-morrow they invest their whole possessions in spurious stocks or risky

business undertakings. If prosperity shines they indulge in vulgar luxury. The porter imitates the boss, the servant outshines the lady. Superstition and credulity increase, and humbug prospers. And, when misfortune overtakes them, they allow themselves to be helped along by Christian charity.

This restless and dependent mass of people is the material from which the ward-demagogues and pot-house politicians recruit the army of corruption that taints our politics. Waving the banner of false democracy they rejoice at the good fortune that gave them such a pliable mass of voters to work with. What do they care for pious reformers who approach the voting laborers with words that do not speak and promises that cannot be kept? The demagogues talk of liberty and equality and the more reduced the people become in their circumstances, the tighter they wrap themselves up in the mantle of their questionable sovereignty. Woe to the statesmen who dare tell the proud voters that their beggarly political liberty is paid for by their waning opulence, and that their cherished political equality vegetates on the morass of economic dependence. The suffrage, being the only mode of asserting their civic importance, is the idol on which they dote after every trace of public spirit has left them. Therefore, rest assured this army of false democracy will always be at the polls while true democracy dreams and subtilizes and tinkers at antiquated platforms and institutions.

And you, American patriots, having in view the distressing pictures of modern elections and their results, you ask why neither tracts nor sober advice can inspire the freemen of your cities with manhood enough to cut the invisible leading strings of political bosses? You ask, why neither cold computations nor heart-burning oratory can induce the laboring populace to join your attempts at reform and your frantic efforts to redeem your municipalities from the unclean hands of those who hold them in their grip? "Spoiling and violence are before me; and there are that raise up strife and contention. Therefore the law is slacked, and judgment doth never go forth; for the wicked doth compass about the righteous; therefore wrong judgment proceedeth."⁴⁸

V.—THE END OF THE APPRENTICE.

THE STRIKE.

The story of the apprentice comes to a close. About a year after Charley had left, the young clergyman, apparently in trouble, visited me. He said Charley had been persuaded to join the Union and to strike for journeymen's wages. His family was in great distress, as the father was out of work and the mother sick in bed. The clergyman begged me to assist him in his endeavor to rescue Charley.

The Union had resolved to put an end to the abuse of apprenticeship as practiced by some firms to the detriment of the whole craft. Some walking delegates disguised themselves as tramps, asked for work at any price, and quickly found employment in those places which are ever ready to exploit indigence in the name of sweet charity. These cunning fellows soon induced the apprentices to strike.

Although I seriously doubted the advisability of approaching Charley with the advice to return to work, I accompanied the clergyman to the Union rooms, hoping there to find the boy. The so-called hall was located in a side street over a liquor saloon. The sidewalk in front of the house, as well as the barroom, was crowded with young men, who noisily encouraged each other with vulgar expressions to hold out in their great battle against capital, and to show the bosses what freemen could do. Some smoked cigarettes and squirted tobacco juice, others danced jigs on the sidewalk, with their hands in their breeches pockets, some kept aside, seemingly troubled about the situation in which they found themselves.

Though the majority of the strikers were children of foreigners, they resembled each other to a certain extent. Their mode of living and the printer's trade put an imprint on their exterior which is noticeable when a number of them meet, especially in an excited condition. The narrow-breasted body inclines forward, the arms are long, their slender, thin hands extending down to the knees. The long and lean neck is closely wrapped with a high standing collar, which is soiled with finger marks. The head is small, with forehead and chin somewhat reclining, while the nose is thin and pointed,

springing forward between large and intelligent eyes, which roll restlessly. The lips are thin and often bluish, with a brownish rim, always in motion, either chewing, smoking, talking or singing.

We made our way through this motley crowd, and ascended the narrow and filthy stairway leading to a large hall over the barroom. Ricketty benches stood along the bare and dusty walls. Some old tables and chairs were in the center of the unswept floor, which was littered with scraps of paper and bespattered with tobacco juice. This apartment was the "house of call," the place where idle compositors wait for a call to work.

The clergyman surveyed the room and the loungers on the benches. With an air of disgust and almost shuddering he asked: "How could this crowd tempt Charley to join them? How depraved these men look. Everybody and everything savors of whisky and tobacco. True, this concern is as God-forsaken as the employers say! Surely, the men who support it must be vicious characters."

"The employing pharisees⁴⁴ who always pray with themselves, 'We thank God that we are not as other men,' are the very persons who bring about the abjectness which you see here. The employers always act consciously or unconsciously on the maxim: The greater the number of the unemployed, the better are the employer's opportunities. Whenever they need help, especially when strikes or lockouts are in the air, they advertise in the country newspapers for compositors. Speculating upon the ardent desire of country lads to come to our large city, with its temptations, they induce thousands of boy compositors to leave their family connections and country homes by promising them employment. The boys come and get a few days work, and are then 'laid off.' What do the employers care about the future of these young men? Why, that is their own lookout, they say. Year by year this insidious manipulation of the labor market has been going on. The more apprentices that run away from their country places, the more are supplied by the inland bosses. The more that arrive in the city, the better are the chances of city employers to exact work for starvation wages.

"Not half of the compositors in our large city can be regularly employed. The greater part wander from street to street, from shop to shop, in order to pick up a stray job here and there. Few of them enjoy a full week's wages once in a year. They cannot calculate on a certain income, be it ever so small, to pay regular board with or to keep up a decent appearance. To-day they are engaged, to-morrow discharged. Then they lounge around the street corners and go into saloons, where a free lunch goes with a mug of bad beer. They never experience the gentler pleasures of life—a jolly drinking bout is their amusement, a good and big strike their excitement. Their home is on a cot in a pauper's lodging house, where the vagabonds of the metropolis soon extinguish every spark of manhood within them, and where it is bliss to drink in order to forget mother and home.

"This is the execrable life hundreds of young apprentices are bound to lead day by day, year by year; the same poverty, the same comrades, the same drinking bouts in the same saloons, ringing with the same Union slang, emitting the same odor of whisky and tobacco which first revolts and then numbs the moral sense. Even the best characters, coming near this whirlpool at the door to hell, unconsciously undergo a change for the worse, which is marked upon their faces, in their manners, and in their language. After a few years they lose all control over themselves and become unable to work more than a few days in succession. Then they are defamed, but considered material good enough to form the employers' army, wherewith they intimidate and defeat the honorable workingmen who struggle for living wages and American homes. Curse the bosses' liberty to unbalance the labor markets!

"Alas, in this great city, full of pompous buildings to harbor societies for the prevention of every imaginable kind of cruelty practiced by men upon men and beasts, there is no place to shelter these victims of crimes committed in the name of liberty, but this filthy room, owned by one of those parasites of society that foster vice and grow fat on immorality.

"With all the organized charity of this great city, there is none to lift the fallen craftsmen and extend a helping hand to

them save the employed journeymen printers, the bone and sinew of the trade. With their scant wages they support these shiftless and homeless comrades in sickness and distress. With money abstracted from what belongs to their families, the employed typesetters, treating the unemployed as their wards, keep up this 'house of call' to furnish at least a sheltering roof for those who are there waiting for work. It is a kind of trade labor bureau, and would be quite a convenience for employers if kept in proper order.

"Let me appeal through you, minister of Christ, to the great body of Churchmen who live in affluence to divert some of the immense sums of money devoted to general charitable purposes to these special channels, where they will prevent intemperance, which would be better than trying to cure topers. Build large meeting houses for the different trades, and establish in them Union labor bureaus which keep good statistics intended to help the men to balance the demand for labor in their country, and thus to counteract the nefarious labor-policy of capital. Provide the modern guild-halls with clean restaurants, meeting rooms, trade school rooms, libraries and all the things which may tend to elevate the 'out-of-works.' Deliver American tradeunions from the fatal necessity to meet and do its business within the odor of liquor, and you will thus purify a good cause of bad surroundings."

The clergyman did not answer. He espied Charley, who tried to hide behind some men in a corner of the room, and went to him. The frightened boy looked emaciated and coughed sickly while the pastor spoke reproachfully. He represented in strong words the error and impropriety of his course and the foolishness to cast his lot with such God-forsaken men as were assembled about the Union rooms. Then he reminded Charley of his poor suffering mother and the helplessness of the father to provide food for the family, and of his little sister crying for bread, and of the angry landlord who had threatened to put the household on the street because the family owed several months' rent.

The striker heard it all, his vacant eyes staring at the ceiling. Tears ran down his wan cheeks, and in a hoarse voice

he cried: "Oh, give me a rest! The walking delegate came, and I didn't want to be branded a scab at this time of my life." Thereupon the pastor grew angry. He spoke of what the Church had done for his family, and what trouble he had had in bringing Charley to the Hooks & Crooks and providing good wages for him. He scolded the Union, and styled it the big tempter that destroyed all patriarchal relations between master and servant. Finally, accusing Charley of un-Christian tendencies and ungratefulness, he threatened to withdraw his helping hand and leave the family to its fate.

The boy's consumptive lips trembled as if he were trying to give expression to his emotion, and could not find words. Sobbing aloud he grew weak and crouched in the corner, burying his head between his knees.

At the sight of this scene I had great trouble to control myself and to calm the men around the room who had assumed a threatening attitude.

"'Oh, thou wicked servant, shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee?'⁴⁵ In the name of the Crucified, have mercy on this victim of a terrible fate, in which you yourself have been a determining factor! Though you bestow all your goods to feed the poor and have not charity it profiteth you nothing."⁴⁶

"How long, O Lord, wilt thou look unmoved upon the victims of the strong delusion of liberty and progress? O vouchsafe to our fair country one glance of loving kindness. The number of unfortunates which once the Assyrian priests of Baal sacrificed for their idols is not greater than the number of miserable beings who are, in our age, thrown under the iron wheel of civilization in honor of our idols, liberty and progress. Even as in time past, the blood-bespattered monks of Torquemada's Inquisition sang hymns of praise over the groans of their victims, so do we in our age raise frantic hallelujahs over the smoke of each new black factory chimney; while deep below the firemen and stokers curse existence, and women and children are thrown by the thousands into the arms of that modern Moloch, the machine, to pine away their abject lives.

"Lord, have mercy upon us! For, indeed, Baal was a merciful idol and Torquemada was a charitable fiend, compared with

the relentless priests of modern idolatry. One push into the Moloch's fiery hold, one torch applied to the stake, one frightful cry or one long groan amidst hissing flames, and the sacrifice was performed, the pain was over. But our idol, progress, is cruel, and its priests have something heinous in their nature. Slowly, but surely, they first benumb the spirits of their victims, then they nibble away their substance, and, demoralizing entire classes of people, they render generations of men unfit to beget healthy blood and clear brains.

"As hollow-eyed masks and gilt garments lie about after exciting masquerades, worthless rubbish to be surrendered to the junk shop, so, O God, lie enervated men and deflorated women, and emaciated children, around the nooks and corners of our great cities, after each triumph of progress—hollow masks without substance, used up in the ever-recurring dance of humanity around the idol of modern liberty and progress.

"O Lord, from all blindness of heart, from pride, vainglory, and hypocrisy, from envy, hatred, and malice, and all uncharitableness, Good Lord, deliver us!"

"Amen!" So responded the seedy-looking printers around the filthy room, but the young clergyman, fearing the men, who moved close up to him, cried: "Can the Church help that the men spend their money in whisky and that the boys and girls will not listen to the good offices of the clergy? Serves them right, when they suffer for their disobedience!"

Shocked and dismayed I arose, stretching my hand over the trembling preacher, and said, turning to the threatening crowd in the room: "Being defamed, we entreat: We are made as the filth of the world, and are the offscourings of all things unto this day."⁴⁷ See that none render evil unto any man. This clergyman was brought to the Union rooms by me, and he is under my protection. Have something to eat, get brandy for the boy and a stretcher, and come, let us take him home; he is sick unto death."

THE FUNERAL PROCESSION.

We took Charley home, and laid him on the lounge. The father sat by the side of his wife, who was lying on the bed, being apparently very sick and destitute of proper nourishment. As it dawned upon the anarchist that something serious had happened to his son, he lost his self-control, and gave way to tumultuous emotions, fluttering about the room like a mad man. What he uttered were curses; what he hoped was destruction. Now he seemed to cower with fear of the terrible hand of God, and then again he curled up and hissed spitefully like a wounded snake that can no longer sting its vanquisher.

The mother wept at this unseemly behavior, and the children cried with fear, while the Union compositors looked upon him as if he afforded them some unexpected fun. When the anarchist turned to me with invectives, I gave him money, and said: "Be quiet. Get wood and coal and meat and groceries wherewith to cook a meal for your family." Then he grinned, and jumped out of the room like an elated child.

On my way home, I notified the doctor of a benevolent society, and also Charley's Sunday-school teacher, the old compositor, to do whatever they could for the family. With the help of the Union we were able to banish hunger and provide well for the family, but death was at the door and would not be turned away. Charley had contracted inflammation of the lungs and died after a short illness. When the corpse was laid in the coffin the father seemed to realize that he had forever lost the only human being on whom his heart passionately doted. He raved no more about society, and uttered no more blasphemies and maledictions. Forgetting even to eat and drink, he sat all day by the side of the coffin and stared vacantly at his son's lifeless form. The mother was somewhat resigned; she wept in silence, and asked me to find a German Lutheran clergyman who would attend to the obsequies.

I was acquainted with one of that Lutheran fraternity which boasts of being exclusive possessor of the only true doctrine. Upon my request to visit the stricken family, he said,

after inquiring about their religious connections: "What do these German people think? When they are well off they want to be Americans, and becoming hangers-on to some English-speaking sect, they forget the little German churches and the pure Luther-doctrine with its pastor 'Who treads the wine press alone, while of the people there is none with him!'⁴⁸ But when the Cross visits them, they remember their mother-church and long for the consolation of the pure doctrine in their mother tongue, thinking that the German pastors have nothing else to do than to bring the blessings of the pure Word to Muller or Schulze or Schmitt simply because they are Germans."

"Nothing of the kind, reverend sir," I interrupted. "We think that even a preacher of the pure Lutheran doctrine in our country is worth his hire, and that 'They which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar.'⁴⁹ We shall amply repay all expenses. Therefore, go to the stricken people and bring them every spiritual consolation that may be at your disposal. But, if ever again a poor German asks for a drop of spiritual nourishment at the close of a life spent in error, do not bargain. The Christ on the Cross gave the murderer on his side heavenly food and asked no questions."

Then the Lutheran went, and whatsoever he brought to the unhappy mother yielded her consolation and with it peace of mind.

On the day of the funeral it became conspicuous what a highly respected man the father of Charley was in the German quarter. The Golden Circle, Mystic Shrine, Seven Sages and Precursors, the Empress Augusta Circle, and the Daughters of Rebecca, the humoristic Fourteen Dunces, and the singing, gymnastic and socialistic societies all condoled with their esteemed secretary-all-around and resolved to parade in fullest pomp.

The story had spread that Charley's mother had given way to some whimsy superstition and invited the well-known Lutheran clergyman to attend to the obsequies. Therefore, the learned barber, who was the rhetoritician of the German quarter, and, in his capacity as Chaplain of all secret lodges in

the neighborhood, the moving spirit of this sort of civilization, had resolved to do his best for his bereaved friend and the grand cause of German illumination. He gave out that he had prepared an illustrated funeral oration which would eclipse everything that had been heard or seen before and which would put the Christian rites altogether in the shade. Therefore, it was the duty of every German to be present and show the Lutheran clergyman what illumination and progress could do on such solemn occasions.

An old soldier, bearing the title of Grand Noble Heart, done up like an ancient knight and wearing a Washington hat, acted as Grand Marshal, and put the procession in order. It was headed by sixteen musicians, dressed in variegated uniforms decked with gold lace and wearing Prussian helmets. Then followed the secret lodges, with their wonderful banners and regalia enwrapped in black gauze. Some men carried painted wooden spears, others had long sticks with carved torches and gilded flames or wooden owls on top. Many held little wooden hatchets in their hands, and had small white aprons tied fore and aft to their bodies. There were men with bandeaus and diadems, broad scarfs of all colors, and others again, discarding all pomp, appeared in plain evening dress coats, with red or black ribbons around their sleeves and white handkerchiefs protruding from their swallow-tail coat pockets.

It seemed as if the strange mysticism of the dingy lodge room fairly longed for the broad daylight to present itself in its grandeur by the sound of kettle drums and trombones. Whenever I see processions of this kind, I have a presentiment as if the poor, childish human heart peevishly cried aloud on the street thusly: "They will not let me adore my Maker in my church, but I will have my mystic rites and my ceremonies in honor of the Supreme Being, anyhow!"

Indeed, the scene was grand. All windows in the tenements along the route, and all ash barrels and carts at the sidewalks were crowded with sightseers, who unconsciously uncovered their heads as the hearse passed by with the grave pall-bearers marching stately on either side to the doleful tune of a solemn dirge.

"Ah, how beautiful! how impressive! how grand," the East Side people said. Only the poor mother in the carriage behind the hearse, sitting by the side of the father, who seemed dazed, saw nothing and heard nothing of the splendor around her. She was blinded with tears, deafened by sobs, and faint from exhaustion.

THE LAST RITES.

At the cemetery, the Grand Noble Heart formed the procession into a large semicircle around the grave. Fan-like the lodges spread themselves side by side, with their immense banners and mystic emblems at the head of each. The Precursors, in plain dress, wore each a red bandanna around their right sleeves, and remained a little aside, as though they were the nobility of enlightenment, looking with a kind of condescension upon their inferiors who still used mystic rites and abstract nouns like the Supreme Being, etc., on such solemn occasions.

To the left stood the father with his younger children, and around him was grouped a strong delegation of the Typographical Union, headed by the old compositor who had been Charley's Sunday-school teacher. About twenty feet away, on the lane, halted the carriage with the Lutheran clergyman and the mother, leaning in the corner, from which she could overlook the scene. The coffin was placed beside the grave. At its foot stood the tall Chaplain wrapped in a black gown, which extended down to his feet. His head was covered by an immense mitre with mystic signs embroidered in gold. His left hand extended rested on a long staff with a wooden owl on the top, while his right crossed his breast. Indeed, the learned barber was an imposing figure. In his appropriate rôle as Chaplain to the lodge, he measured, with the mitre, at least seven feet in height. Over him swung a beautiful baldachin made of sky-blue silk and adorned with golden stars surrounding the mysterious sign of the eye in a triangle, without which it seems even illuminated humanity cannot exist. An immense canopy was borne by a delegation of the grey-bearded Seven Sages dressed in long, white gowns.

When everything seemed to be in order the Chaplain stretched his staff over the grave, thus signaling the beginning of the last rites. The bandmaster then led with the vocal section of the Precursors and intoned a dirge. Thereafter the Chaplain turned his face heavenward and from his mouth issued in a deep voice a long invocation to the Great Spirit to cast his eye over the worshipers, assembled around the grave, who were about to send a messenger up to His throne. This prayer, spoken to the tune of a low melody, was followed by a consecration ceremony, consisting of motions of hands and faces known only to the adepts, and then the whole band struck up a hymn in which all joined, the banners were lowered and the coffin was committed to the grave.

When all was quiet, the Chaplain stepped to the edge of the grave and raising his deep voice so that the words reverberated throughout the graveyard, he began his oration: "And now, thou disembodied youthful soul, which dwelt like an imprisoned slave in an impure and weak frame made of corruptible flesh and bones, be delivered of the darkness of the grave and arise to the ever-verdant Orient above, forever to dwell in perfect freedom in the dominion of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful! Arise, Arise, Arise!"

With these majestic words, the Chaplain opened the folds of his gown and took from his bosom a white dove which he threw upward so that it might fly towards the blue heavens. But it was cold and the frightened little bird would not ascend. It fluttered, as if terror-stricken down into the grave and cowered in a corner on the coffin. This incident upset the giant Chaplain. He lost his dignified demeanor and dropped the staff with the wooden owl. Taking the edges of his gown in both hands, he extended them like broad wings, flapping nervously, while jumping up and down, groaning and hissing.

The Grand Noble Heart approached with some of the men who had long staffs with carved flames and poked into the grave, striking on the coffin with hollow sounds that made everybody tremble. The bedecked and costumed brethren pressed forward and grinned as the giant Chaplain lost his temper and uttered incoherent phrases, while the baldachin bearers in white laid their canopy on the ground and tried to

appease the unfortunate Chaplain and to restore order and dignity. All was in vain; confusion prevailed and from a distance were heard the cries and sobs of the poor mother, whose heart seemed fairly rent at the sight of the clowns around the grave of her boy. With almost superhuman strength she pulled the Old-Lutheran clergyman out of the carriage crying: "Come, come, say the blessing!" But the Lutheran would not. Almost violently he delivered himself of the grip of the mother, crying: "The Pure Word of God cannot be spoken where abominable and heathenish infidelity spreads itself."

Suddenly the anarchist father awoke from his lethargy. With bloodshot eyes he jumped into the grave, breaking the lid of the coffin with an awful crash. He caught the white dove, wrung its head and cowered in the corner on the coffin, stained with the blood of the animal, and stared vacantly at the break in the lid, through which was visible the form of his boy.

When the confusion reached this climax, the grey-haired compositor stepped toward the brink of the grave and pushed the clown in the gown aside. With uplifted head and solemn mien he pointed heavenward and, looking threateningly at the motley crowd, he took a Common Prayer Book from his coat pocket, opened it, and began in a clear voice: "I am the resurrection and the life."

As if held by some enchantment the crowd stood still, scarcely daring to breathe, and when the Lord's Prayer was ended, many of them murmured, "Amen!"

Like an ancient patriarch, the old compositor stretched out both hands and spoke with simple dignity the Apostolic blessing. . . . Then a shrill voice was heard coming from the carriage. The Lutheran anathematized such heathenish abuse of holy rites; and the coachman whipped the horses. Away they went with the clergyman, and after him pell-mell, the Red Men and the Sages, with their spears, and owls, and mystic shrines.

The old compositor stood at the grave and spoke aloud, with hands folded: "Lord, thou hast been our dwelling-place in all generations." At a little distance stood the trade

union delegation with downcast heads and moved almost to tears. Near by on the wayside lay the mother in a swoon. On the coffin, in the grave, sat the blood-stained father; in his hands the sacrificial dove. And I fell down on my knees and prayed as I had never prayed before: "Eternal God, whose essence is knowledge and power, in Thee I have put my trust; let me never be confounded."

SECOND BOOK.

ON THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF TRADE-UNIONISM.

I.—THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND TRADEUNIONISM.

THE CATECHISM OF DEMOCRACY.

I T is often asserted that the organization of labor is a disturbing element in the American Commonwealth. Unmistakable signs of deep resentment are shown against the projects of tradeunionists, and a secret dislike of the alleged offenders breeds that implacableness of passion which makes nations miserable. Wishing to allay the burning qualities of the animosities among our producing classes, I have presented in the first book of this volume a series of pen pictures showing actual workshop life, together with the thoughts of organized craftsmen on its complex phenomena. I venture now to add, for the benefit of students of democracy, a short definition of the characteristic differences between the polity of American society and the decried defection of the laboring classes therefrom. The better the educated classes understand organized labor the greater is the hope for peaceable adjustment of their differences with their employers.

We are a thoroughly democratic people—that is, our fixed methods to sustain government and social order are a manifestation of the ideas of the working-classes on what is good or bad for the vital conditions of human happiness. Our policy is not, as in other countries, a manifestation of the ideas of either monarchs or aristocrats on the subject. If, then, our democratic methods of government do not

please organized labor, the logical inference is that the political ideas of the present generation of workingmen are different from those of the people which determined our present democratic polity. For the possibility that American labor should ever be disloyal to democracy is entirely excluded.

It is not my intention to present logical discourses in order to show that either the inherited democratic ideas or the ideas of organized labor are preferable. Popular ideas on what is good, just, or beautiful, do not rest on logic, but on faith, which is born of man's innate nature. Logic cannot probe our faith, because it is a summary of all we have learned and experienced in a life which is at best but a series of endeavors to know the truth and to do what is right. The dim political ideas of our laborers are their faith, that is, "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen."¹

We can best understand the political faith of modern laborers by comparing it with the cardinal articles of the political creed of those workingmen who lived at the time when democracy ascended to power. This happened at the beginning of the present century under the following circumstances:

About one hundred and fifty years ago, the "common lot" of every European nation had much cause to be dissatisfied with the methods of government which had been adopted by State and Church. The nobility oppressed the farmers by virtue of feudal laws; the established craft-guilds ruined poor mechanics through inherited prerogatives, and the priests of the period, tithing labor, capital, and nature, with equal severity, turned the earthly hospital of the weak human spirit—Christ's Church—into a madhouse, in which the strait-jacket was the favored medicine to appease perturbed souls.

At this period of anxiety, when the "common lot" seemed deserted by the legitimate bearers of science and religion, appeared an eminent philosopher who courageously examined into the causes of the misfortunes of the working classes and published several books on the subject. It was Jean Jacques Rousseau, often called the Father of the French Revolution. Any one who has read his works² will understand the political creed of the democracy which governs America.

Rousseau's crude ideas were put into statesmanlike shape by the author of the Declaration of the Rights of Men, published by the revolutionary assembly of France, 1793, Count Emanuel Joseph Sieyès,³ and applied to industrial conditions by Adam Smith, the great Scotch economist.⁴

For the above stated purposes the author of this book has culled from the copious writings of the democratic philosophers and from the history of American democracy, the Catechism of its Creed, which consists of the following four articles.

ARTICLE I.—All men are by nature free and equal, and governments must preserve man's natural liberty and equality by refusing all special legislation in favor of individuals, or classes of individuals.

It is evident that the democratic originators of the above thesis considered the principle of liberty and equality as a method to prevent class domination. Their argument was simple: The inherited privileges of "the rich and well-born" create those inequalities of life which make the working classes miserable. Therefore, let governments be so constructed that no class of citizens, either rich or poor, can have any privileges whatsoever. Abolish at the same time all restraints on the working classes—that is, grant them perfect liberty and equality with the possessing classes, and there will be in future neither class-domination nor class-impovertyment.

The intentions of the French democrats, of 1789, were indeed of so noble a character as to arouse the sympathies of the American people, who were then engaged in laying the foundation of their own nation. Upon the agitation of Thomas Jefferson, they adopted the French method of securing the happiness of the working people and made it the main duty of their high courts to set aside any enactment which might tend to unbalance the status of citizens. This contrivance of the rising American democracy was intended to operate against "the rich and well-born" classes. However, the wageworkers soon discovered that the principle of equality is like a shot fired against aristocracy, which rebounds with terrible weight on the poor and lowly born. The wageworkers, being placed

on a level with the possessors of land and tools, soon found that they were not equal to their employers in open competition, and, in order to equalize the wageworker's status on the market of life with that of the employer's, they themselves stood in urgent need of class legislation. Working women and children required the protection of the law. The workers in each of the great American industries needed special class laws to secure sanitation and safety, etc.

The possessors of land and tools, however, discovered that they prospered with the convenient system of injunctions and nullification of class legislation. Therefore, they insisted with the vehemence of Shylock on the writ of equality, and the courts enjoy the hearty consent of "the rich and well-born" whenever they apply the power of state vested in the judiciary for the defence of the principle of equality.

In opposition to this, the working classes want the courts to distinguish between natural and unnatural privileges. It revolts their common sense to see their high judiciary proceed like zealots against the very idea of differentiation by law according to peculiar circumstances. They think that well-meaning men, upon whose judgment a nation is to look with respect, should be able to distinguish between laws creating a blood-nobility and such as are intended to protect feminine and masculine laborers against abuse while at work. The sweeping judgments of our high courts against privileges of occupation are based on shallow modern philosophy and not on Constitutional law, which merely rules out privileges of nobility and such legal restrictions as tend to limit civic rights.* Therefore, the finest arguments in favor of injunctions, etc.,

*What the authors of the Constitution of the United States thought of the French idea of equality, which is pronounced, by our modern judges, is evident from Mr. Madison's Letter, Federalist X., in which he says:

"Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of government (French democracy) have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would, at the same time, be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their possessions, their opinions, and their passion."

break on the workingman's sense of justice, as do the mighty rollers of the ocean on the rocks near the shore. Dispersed to spray they are thrown high up in the air, but leave the rock unmoved. Organized labor holds that the idea to prevent class domination through strict application of the principles of equality is a delusion and a snare.

ARTICLE II.—All persons engaged in business must have equal liberty to contract for labor or commodities at any terms, at any time, and at any place.

The early democracy adopted this article on the recommendation of Adam Smith, upon the following simple argument: The privileges of employers, together with those legal restraints on workingmen which had existed prior to the ascension of democracy to power, are the cause of the poverty of the working classes. Therefore, abolish all privileges of employers and all restraints on wageworkers, and the result will be a general increase of the wealth of nations as well as a just distribution among industrial workers.

This proposition was hailed with delight throughout the civilized world, and almost all states changed their industrial codes to meet Adam Smith's theories. Generous America, of course, gave them the fullest and most extensive trial. Trade-unions and trusts as well as all laws tending in any shape or form to restrict individuals or companies in their business operations were forbidden, and everybody was made free to compete with everybody in every kind of business.

Since forty or fifty years, however, the workingmen have found out what average employers are finding out at present, namely, that the principle of liberty and equality in trade is a double-edged sword which hurts all industrial classes who handle it. It is hardly necessary to recite the hardships which the wageworkers have suffered through its operations since the day of its introduction. Let us merely meditate on the strange outgrowths of the selfsame system of unlimited competition which was instituted with the intention of making producers freer and richer than they had ever been before.

For nearly a hundred years have high and common schools propagated the idea that freedom of trade according to Adam

Smith is the only condition under which an enlightened people can prosper. Nevertheless, from sheer necessity the nation has restricted international trade by tariff laws, the States have limited the liberties of employers through factory and labor regulations and the people themselves are restraining the liberty of entering into labor contracts at will to such a degree as to threaten a relapse into tyranny. At last the employers also are abolishing liberty of trade by the formation of trusts and combines.

In the struggle which is at present going on between wage-workers and employers as well as between producers and consumers every trace of personal liberty in business has disappeared. There is nothing left of it but the privilege to bear with patience the unsteadiness and wiles of apprentices and journeymen; to quietly submit to the dictation of any man or any body of men who have grasped the economic power of one's trade. Our actual freedom of choice consists in either to make use of all the tricks of trade which a fertile mind impelled by sheer necessity may invent, or with grace to resign self-management, and accept the domination of tradeunions and trusts as something inevitably connected with that questionable blessing which everybody hates—unlimited competition.

Organized labor most decidedly believes that the ideas of early democracy on the prevention of class domination and class impoverishment through the system of unlimited competition are a delusion and a mask of plutocracy.

ARTICLE III.—*Manhood suffrage enables the working classes to determine the general policy of government.*

This proposition was also suggested by Rousseau and accepted as a self-evident truth by the workingmen of almost all civilized countries. The leading governments of Europe have, however reluctantly and reservedly, granted their citizens this privilege, and America, of course, gave the principle of universal suffrage the most thorough trial. But notwithstanding the efforts of the working classes, they have not been able during a period of almost seventy-five years to give color

to the deliberations and official acts of the legislative, executive and judicial departments.

The policy of the government and therefore the destiny of the nation is not determined by the people, but by either one of the two great existing combines of wealthy men, animated by cross purposes, with lofty statesmen and shrewd politicians. These circles give tone to the national party spirit and make the best of its outgrowths, first for themselves and then for the people. Full of ostentation and self-glorification, steadfast only in the illusions of our age, each party tries to prevail by dishing out to the people a mess of antiquated political theories flavored with some live propositions on current problems. With hearts confused by contrary desires and the intellect covered with a net of philosophic illusions, confiding citizens follow their party leaders, whether right or wrong, unconcerned about the consequences of their national acts, never shirking the difficulties following after precipitated measures, being always engrossed in the enjoyments of acquisitiveness. Honored in its own eyes, arrogant in its claims, full of pride and the illusions of wealth, the nation brings untold sacrifices all for the sake of ostentation. The egotism of leaders in politics, society or business is represented as a sign of greatness and the dictation of unscrupulous men manipulating majorities as a token of democratic liberty and equality. However, in spite of the current bombastic language, the political leaders as well as the business world live in a constant anxiety and dread of elections, lest that blind Sampson—the multitude with the ballot—take hold of the middle pillars upon which their greatness rests and breaking them, spread desolation among the philistines.

The present position of the class of wageworkers toward the principle of suffrage is like that of a weak and loving father toward his wayward son. He sees the demoralization and knows that the substance of the whole family is wasted by his offspring in his downward career. But the father wants to be blind to the testimony of his senses and hopefully continues to trust his child, soothing his conscience with reasons for an excuse. Forgiving the sinner "till seventy times seven" the father tries again and again to reform his son and rejoices when

the weakling happens to perform even the thousandth part of what could reasonably be expected of him.

Reliable and cautious labor leaders counsel their followers to stand aloof from party commotions and to place no hopes in the ballot. The working classes have cheerfully assisted their employers in substituting the present protective policy of the government for the genuine democratic policy of free trade, but whenever organized labor attempted to extend the protection of the government to the class of wageworkers, they were treated with deliberate and contemptuous neglect. While the employers took every privilege which accrued to their advantage, the wageworkers were told over and over again that the mere asking for the abolition of wicked abuses is equal to an immoral cry for privileges and something derogatory to manhood. After trying all possible expedients to exert their political influence in favor of their own class, organized labor has come to the conclusion that, with the customary methods of nominating candidates for office, the boasted principle of universal suffrage is plainly and simply a delusion and a snare.

ARTICLE IV.—Rotation in office will keep the working classes in control of the powers of government.

The democrats of Andrew Jackson's era have pushed this principle of state to the extreme and ever since that time the people have been instilled with the belief that the art to govern municipalities, states, and nations, need not be learned in the same way as every other art or profession; but that anybody, even a simple farmer or a plantation negro, could decide by instinct the most intricate questions connected with the business of the commonwealth, and that any smart fellow could at any time jump in and "take a hand at statecraft."

Well, the nation has enjoyed rotation in office almost seventy-five years,* and the picture which the operation of this principle of state presents to the contemplative mind seems to be a terrible satire on common sense, or, to say the least, a subject

* During the two administrations of Washington, nine officials were removed; during John Adams', ten; Jefferson's, thirty-nine; Madison's, five; Monroe's, nine; J. Q. Adams', two, and during the first year of Andrew Jackson's, nine hundred and ninety officials were removed.

which even serious minds cannot treat seriously. Reading the current eulogies on primaries and elections as methods of an enlightened people to provide for public service, one is obliged to think that the goddess of liberty must have impregnated every brain with the essence of statesmanship and licensed the popular press to perform the Socratic business of spiritual obstetrics for hundreds of thousands of voters, with one all-powerful jerk; and that whatsoever is brought forth in this fashion tends by its birthright to the promotion of popular welfare.*

What, however, has become of our liberty to choose rulers to our hearts' content, which we thought nowhere safer than in the guardianship of this democracy which derives its power from ward clubs and their primaries? It is shrunk to be a mere privilege to do as the vulgar do and to quietly submit to the most arbitrary rule of party chieftains, who, rising on the shoulders of political clubs which debase and corrupt public virtue, ascend to power by art and deceit and perseverance, in order to bring government into submission.

Or, if we so choose, we can join the chronic reformers who increase the power of chieftains by dividing that of the well-meaning but unorganized people. The saddest feature of the principle of rotation in office is that the knowledge and experience required to do the public business of our commonwealth is, in truth, collected and preserved by those political organizations which cannot exist without dishonesty, and that when once in twenty years reformers succeed to office, their inexperienced leaders, being burdened with the cumulative sins

* Josiah Quincy writes on the conditions created by the adoption of the principle of rotation in office the following trenchant paragraph: "This class of persons (office-seekers) are in truth spending their time at the doors of the palace or the crannies of the departments or laying low snares to catch for themselves or their relations every stray office that flits by them. I never have seen and I never shall see any of those notorious solicitors of office for themselves or their relations standing on this or the other floor, bawling or bullying, or coming down with dead votes in support of executive measures, but I think I see a hackney laboring for hire in a most degrading service."—*Life of Quincy*, 220.

of their predecessors, are bound to disappoint even our most modest hopes.

The idea underlying the principle of rotation in office is against the nature of good craftsmen. They know that every art or profession must be learned in a regular way, and that no man can or will do his best, if he is liable to be thrown out of his situation at any time. However, as custom fortified by law is stronger than reason, the laboring classes stick to rotation in office, believing that this primitive method of providing for the public service is the real essence of democracy. Yearly elections are the rule even in tradeunions of skilled mechanics.

Nevertheless, clear-sighted and conservative labor leaders express their earnest disapproval of this political system. They counsel non-participation in politics, which means resignation of the privilege of laboring classes to "rotate" together with the politicians into the government. Experience has proved not only that the wageworkers are unable, through this system, to change the attitude of government towards their class; but also, that this principle of false democracy is a handy contrivance to throw the seeds of discord into the tradeunions, and to lead astray or even corrupt intelligent labor leaders and their followers.

TRADEUNIONISM IS NOT A NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY.

We arrive now at the important question: Is the defection of organized labor from the methods of the French democracy of 1789 equal to a renunciation of the democratic creed, that government exists by the people, for the people?

The writer denies this most emphatically. A people which discards antiquated political methods does not renounce its sovereignty but asserts it in the highest degree. The aim of democracy is not the preservation of a set scheme of nominations, elections, etc., but the maintenance of the conditions essential to the welfare of the people. Democratic forms alone do not constitute commonwealths, which adjust the inequalities of life by just government. The essence of true democracy is the maintenance of a system of laws fashioned to the conditions of the people who are to obey it.

There were democrats in America before Jefferson introduced the political prescription of Dr. Rousseau. Washington, Hamilton, Jay, Madison and the ancient and honorable Federalist party were, indeed, true democrats, although as bitter antagonists to the principles of the French democracy as the modern tradeunionists. The architects of the American nation told the people one hundred years ago, what they have since found out by bitter experience, namely, that the false democracy which confronted them under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, would never realize the hopes of the working people.*

They understood that the kind of liberty and equality which Rousseau's American disciples had in view, would merely be a passport for the covetousness of the rich and unscrupulous to the unlimited power of state, wherewith they would take advantage of the confiding poor and simple citizens.

The leaders of the false democracy, however, impatient for the trappings of power, set their eye on all who from credulity, envy, anger, or pride, from ambition, or cupidity, disliked the restraints of the government, which at that time stood under the influence of the Colonial Church Organizations. They began the subversion of the power of the true democracy under the leadership of Washington, by spreading among the people the philosophy of the French illumination, which rests on the heresy, that there is no evil present in men, and that ignorance, passion and wickedness exist because government and church had insidiously kept the working classes in spiritual blindness. "Emissaries were sent out to every class of men and even to individuals that could be gained. Every threshing floor, every husking, every party at work on a house frame or raising a building, the very funerals

* What good could come to the working classes from the theories of a man who wrote in the prime of life, when an ambassador in France, the following words, which, as I suppose, will be a surprise to many craftsmen who up to this day have thought Jefferson a friend to the working classes:

"I consider the class of artificers as the panders of vice and the instruments by which the liberties of a country are generally overturned."—Letter to John Jay; see *Randall's Life of Jefferson*, I., 427.

were infected with bawlers and whisperers"⁷ against the clergy and the Washingtonian democracy. "They spoke swelling words of vanity; they promised the people liberty, and their words ate like canker."⁸

Forsooth, the philosophers of the different kinds of illumination that have visited America from the days of Washington disagreed on every vital principle, but they were unanimous in their endeavor to reduce all earthly authorities, from that of a father over his children to that of the government over the people, to a point of helpless impotency. Especially must the church be deprived of its influence over the will of the people; for the beginning of progress and illumination, so it was proclaimed, is a declaration of war against God and His church; and whoever could not believe that modern liberty and equality resting on individual illumination would make the working classes healthy, wealthy and wise, was simply branded as a traitor to the cause of humanity.

The objects for which Jefferson and his party systematically subverted the Christian religion were of a political nature. The Federalists believed that good morals, wholesome customs and beneficial governments could not exist without religion. They had inherited from their ancestors the idea that Christian congregations on the broadest democratic basis should be the popular units from which their governments were to derive their power. Church membership was enforced by law and custom. The suffrage was made dependent on it, and in some instances those who did not vote or would not serve in office were fined for misdemeanor. To be a citizen meant to be a church member in good standing. Thus, by the force of circumstances, the Christian congregations were the social units upon which the institutions of true democracy were erected. They brought forth the much admired New England townships. The austere New England parsons with their deacons stood with word and deed by the poor and helpless, and fearlessly and relentlessly they confronted vice in high and low places, while patiently admonishing young and old to be righteous and self-denying. Trusting in God they faced death when the plague struck their people by the score, or when the red foes burned their homesteads and tortured and killed men, women and children. In-

deed, the religious units with their pastors were not only the first in America to found institutions of learning and charity, but also the first and only leaders of the people who had a clear idea of true democracy. They knew by inspiration the great truth which the theorists of our age have failed entirely to understand, namely, *that democratic institutions required by their very nature popular units to provide for the succession of government.* The high political function of the Christian congregation of colonial times consisted in nominating and electing men who felt like the toiling people and thought of the common weal and woe like those who are dependent on it for their individual happiness, and also, in the preservation of the sense of responsibility for official acts to the social units.

Viewed in this light the Christian congregations were for the American democracy what royal families are for monarchies: parents and educators of rulers. The great mistake of the Federalists consisted in omitting to gather the reliable elements of the Christian communities into new forms to be for the United States what they had been for the colonial governments, namely, *social units, empowered to act as nominating bodies of the congressional districts in which they were domiciled; but without the religious demarkation.* "The federal power, propped by nothing but opinion, fell," so complains Fisher Ames, and "faction was organized sooner than government."

The Constitution of the United States, having failed to lodge the power of nominating candidates for office somewhere in political society, gave Jefferson and Croker, Tom, Fritz or Mac equal rights, simply to grab it, and to act for whomsoever they were pleased to call the people. False democracy started in America with the formation of ward clubs from the fickle and unreliable elements which the congregations naturally discarded. Then it put on the garb of progress and humanism in order to induce church members to join the clubs that they might be strong enough to nominate and elect their party to rule the country.*

*Fisher Ames, a prominent member of the First Congress, wrote several letters on the subject, from which I cite the following: "It is a pleasant thing for the yeomanry to see their own government taken out

In order to appease the apprehensions of serious citizens who feared that the hangers-on of the so-called jacobin clubs might eventually ruin the country and that the Modern Illuminations might be hypocrisy for the wicked and upset the moral safeguards of the weak, it was boldly asserted that modern society has no real use for the Church as a standard-bearer of public morality, because as the sophists of our age declare, a natural love for the Beautiful, the Good, and the True exists deeply hidden in the recesses of the human heart, which the lamp of science will enlighten and endow with a glorious strength capable of suppressing all evil inclinations and passions. This inborn power has various titles; sometimes it is introduced as the Enlightened Self-Interest, then again as Reason or Virtue, Science or Truth, or by whatever appellation happens to suit the occasion.

For the satisfaction of the human soul which is ever yearning to know whence it came and whither it will go, the busy army of philosophic brownies cried like village cocks, now in turn and then all at the same time: Not God the Father Almighty is the Alpha and Omega of life, but the Absolute, or Substance, or Matter, or Protoplasm, Spontaneous Generation, etc., is the thing in itself, by itself, etc.

Solicitous people who adhere to their Old Faith and who fear that the intellectual life of the people must degrade if they are systematically bereft of their spiritual perception—faith—are denounced as hypocrites or pessimists. Men of science, together with newspaper editors and pothouse quidnuncs, prove to a dot that there is no spiritual perception in men. Knowledge comes through the senses, they say; therefore, teach the people the art of reading and writing and give them lessons in natural philosophy and history. Then even simple day laborers will thirst for knowledge which they can

of their hands and themselves cyphered by a rabble formed into a club," *Works I*, 147.—"We are Frenchmen, democrats, anti-Federalists, everything but Americans." "Jacobinism and Gallomania are stronger here than elsewhere," *Works I*, 169, 170. Jefferson in a letter to Madison criticized Washington, who had denounced the clubs as "an extraordinary act of boldness and an attack on the freedom of discussion and an inexcusable aggression."

quench by daily draughts from the emissions of the great vent-hole of enlightenment—the free press. As the stomach digests food without being taught how to do it, so will logic and self-interest furnish a digest of what they learn to serve as a sufficient guide through life.

After a while, so the philosophers prophesied, no individual will require law to guide his conduct, nor hope to appease his restless soul, nor charity to sustain his frailty. Logic will supersede faith and comprehend That which human eyes cannot see. Religion, as a means to give voice to pious sentiments and to hush sinful emotions, as well as ceremonies and symbols to convey That which words cannot express, will in future merely be intellectual toys for nations in their childhood. Men begotten by democrats and reared under the sun of democratic institutions will be like unto pure reason incarnated, unmoved by passion, and happy in their self-wrought perfection. Forsooth, such babblings as these ate like canker.¹⁰

RETROSPECT.

The nineteenth century has come to an end and what the great illumination has promised and performed is now an object of contemplation. Undoubtedly, the democratic revolution of the obsolete customs and encrusted modes of thought of colonial times has done the country incalculable good. That God who struck the pious Americans with the strong delusion¹¹ which made them believe the lies of the foreign illumination did so for good purpose. Even the prince of darkness must serve the Lord, though we may not comprehend His decisions. God's thoughts are not men's thoughts, neither are men's ways God's ways.¹² However, the democracy of the present, which is an offspring of the French Illumination, is not the end, but merely a transitory stage in the evolution of our nation. After the democracy resting on illusions must come a new democracy based on truth. So it behooves us to watch for the time when the veil shall be lifted from the eyes of our people.

Whatever freedom of thought and political liberty could do for the working classes has been done. They have had free

schools to educate the young and ample freedom of speech and pen to provide spiritual aliment to adults. Nevertheless, the third and fourth estate—that is, the masters and journeymen of our country, are restless and lack that equanimity of mind which is the result of true education and material well-being. The love of novelty and the passion for the marvelous are stronger than ever and invite imposture and deception. Old and young, high and low, are credulous and irritable, and become ever and again victims of visionaries and humbugs. New systems of nature based on the tenets of the French and German illuminations appear year by year. Wonderful political schemes composed of popular phrases which are devoid of even a shadow of concrete truth, arise in quick succession on the intellectual orbit. Political charlatans come, like comets, drawing after them a nebulous train of followers who quickly disperse in order to reassemble when another prodigy appears on the horizon.

Watching the variegated phenomena of the spiritual life of the American industrial people, it would seem as if the intellectual progress of the modern illumination had gone in the wrong direction. Among the producers of every class is noticeable a general weakening of the judgment, especially on questions of moral self-maintenance and the vital conditions thereof. The popular argumentation on present problems too often appears like playing dice with abstract conceptions of unknown bearing. Men of average education speaking of issues of public importance seem utterly devoid of the capacity to distinguish cause and effect from reason and conclusion. The fundamental error of the modern illumination, namely, that theories could change the spiritual nature of men, comes in full view in the everyday conversations of the people. Positive knowledge was to eradicate from the human soul the ancient metaphysical want that caused them to build the cathedrals and churches of the middle ages and to support expensive fraternities of priests for administering to it. Pretentious people smile at the poor capacities of those who satisfy their ineradicable metaphysical want with the tales of Palestine. They argue with a certain degree of respect with the theists and rationalists of our age, but they all dote on some materialistic system,

like Darwinism, because they believe that the one which they have chosen rests on positive knowledge. Yet nothing is more evident than the truth that the conclusions of Darwinism and kindred naturalistic theories are as much metaphysical as were the well-known ontological conclusions of theologians in proof of the existence of God. In spite of the inner weakness of the human faculties of cognition the bearers of the modern illumination speak on all questions of life with the infallibility of the Roman Pope when he decides questions of creed. They say that to believe something which cannot be proven is a sign of inherited stupidity, or that to disbelieve repugnant doctrines propagated by naturalists or economists is a crime against the spirit of humanity. Thank God that the promoters of the modern illumination do not control the police force.

The common people have been told that the best way to show one's illumination is to speak contemptuously of the Old Religion. However, the enlightened men who ridicule the Church with its ceremonies and symbols, go to the secret lodges where they gravely participate in silly rituals pomposly performed by comical chaplains, taking unmitigated swagger and mimicry for a symbolic wisdom of greater age and better character than that of the Church. Indeed, the soul with its metaphysical want has been regaled with strange aliment since it was destined to animate the human form on earth. It has lived for centuries on the Vedas, Upanishads, Zend-Avesta, Koran and kindred food. But the meanest fare that it ever received is the chaff left by the hustlers of the modern illumination. Indeed, the fact that the soul still hungers for truth after such treatment ought to be accepted as a logical proof of its immortality.

OUTLOOK.

But notwithstanding the apparent distraction of the spirit of our people, no lasting harm has been done to its character. The errors of our age belong to the intellect and not to the heart, which is still uncorrupted. Therefore, it is wrong to compare our age to that of Octavian, as some writers have done. With all our intellectual capers, we remain at work and cheerfully fulfil the duties of life. Like a man who holds his

post of duty, though his intellect is bent on some hobby, or his heart is rent by some great woe, so do we as a nation remain steadfast in all afflictions of our vacillating policy of state. Educational and charitable objects interest high and low more than the vagaries of political bosses, who are disliked as much as those industrial giants who abuse the liberties which our generous body politic has granted them. After every wave of public excitement, we find repose in hard work. Like the French we have upon us the curse of false democracy; but, unlike the French we do not vault from one extreme unto the other. We allow the germs of true democracy to grow and to strike root on the fertile soil of our popular life. With a shrug of the shoulder and a smile of disdain, we dismiss the platforms of the populists and of organized labor as vagaries of misguided men. But their very organizations and their strangest pronunciamentoes have one quality which should win them the hearts of the American educational classes. They are emphatic declarations that they do no longer believe in the tenets of the French illumination and its offspring, the foreign false democracy.

Why, the bone and sinew of our nation, the skilful mechanics and the ever dutiful railroad men, and the unsophisticated tillers of the soil, all declare by word and deed that they mean to return to the ways of the Federalist Fathers. And the preachers and professors should stand aloof and say, That is nothing but a chimera! Impossible!

Why, there are perhaps three millions of plain men, organized in such a shape that no corrupter can get into their ranks; they are sound in morals, most reliable in business, and unshaken in their belief in the Supreme Being. They solemnly declare that they want our Government to act according to the spirit of our Federalist Fathers, as it is plainly expressed in the preamble to the Constitution. They want their governors, legislators, and, above all, their Supreme Courts, to desist from acting according to the spirit of Jean Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith. And yet, the preachers and professors and statesmen, should turn their back on these men and take sides, with the bosses and their minions who dance in drunken frenzy around the ballot box and bawl liberty and equality!

Will not the educating classes pick up the stone which the builders of our false democracy refused and see if it cannot be made the headstone of the corner?¹⁸ What ails these dissenters? What is the gist of their faults? A precocious philosophy has destroyed the natural screen on the light of science, and flashlights of knowledge have dazzled the inner eye of the workers in the shops and on the farms. Their soul staggers and reels in extravagant hopes.

In that tender recess of human nature, where the intellect loses hold of its earthly leading strings—the law of causality—and where the exact sciences grope in perplexity, there is the birthplace of the sweet poetry of mysticism, and the home of true religion. Nature has placed in this sanctum, so to speak, a sounding board of all the vibrations of the Ego in its friction with the world. In this secret workshop of God Almighty are harmonized all sad and happy emotions and all sublime and low sentiments of human nature. Materialism has trampled upon this groundwork of the intellect, and fraternities of priests have abused the domain which they considered their private property. Nevertheless, the spiritual sounding board within still responds to the voice of silence from without, and will prepare the way of truth after the extravagant hopes which have dazzled the intellect shall have faded away. The notion that by some trick of statecraft earthly life could be made to yield more happiness than there is in it, will gradually disappear, just as the pangs of disappointment shall clear the way of truth to calm the restless heart.

Where are the devoted teachers of sound doctrine to comfort the hearts of these simple and steadfast people and to remove the somber spectre of despair beyond their dimmed vision? Where are the ministers of the All-Merciful who will desist from trying to harmonize the doctrines of Christ with the lies of the false democracy? Let them come forward and counsel moderation, ere the growing giant—organized industry and agriculture—shall feel and exert his political strength, so as to hurt himself and others.

Perhaps the day will come that those patriots who care more for our country than for cheap labor and cheap merchandise will find an answer to the despairing question of Fisher Ames:

"Can we not persuade our citizens to be republican again, so as to rebuild the splendid ruins of the state on the Washington foundation?"¹⁴

II.—THE ERRORS OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

In the preparation of the following treatises, I have extensively used Prof. Luju Brentano's History of English Tradeunions, Leipzig, 1871; Criticism of English Tradeunions, Leipzig, 1872; Toulmin Smith's English Guilds, "with an introduction by Prof. Luju Brentano, London, 1870; H. Crompton, Industrial Conciliation, London, 1876; Carroll D. Wright, Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration, Boston, 1881; Charles F. Pidgin, History of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor, Boston, 1876; Silas and Beatrice Webb, The History of Tradeunionism, London and New York, 1896, and Industrial Democracy, London and New York, 1897. I take this occasion to call the attention of American tradeunions to the three last-mentioned works of Silas and Beatrice Webb. They form a compendium of the science of tradeunionism, which contains, in plain language, everything worth knowing on the organization of labor. Every trade union should study these works, under the leadership of a qualified tutor.

THE PRINCIPLE OF HOME RULE.

The political creed of false democracy contained one article which was partially dropped by tacit understanding, which, however, is still sustained by the American industrial democracy. It is this: *Home rule is the people's own rule*.

This article was also originated by Rousseau.¹ He says: "Every law which has not been sanctioned by the people is void; it is no law. Delegates of the people cannot be their representatives, but are their agents; therefore, they cannot enact laws." This proposition, like every other theory of false democracy, rests on heretical views of human nature. Rousseau denies that nations are embodiments of individuals, and asserts that they are mere aggregations bound together by a compact. From these premises he argues that no man can make laws binding on any fellow-beings; that, consequently, if laws are needed by any community, they must be made by all members in person.

Laborers like this view of the relations of man to man, because their everyday experience seems to confirm it. Toilers in dingy workshops, in the fields and mines, who never have an opportunity to enjoy the spiritual pleasures of life, see their comrades, foremen, employers and rich idlers moving about always intent on making the most of their labor, and seldom

showing an act of genuine kindness. Is it a wonder that laborers say to themselves: What is the use to believe that mankind is one family? All are selfish beings and there is no fellow feeling on earth. People are like grains of sand on the beach; just as wind and waves drift them over and under another, hither and thither, so does greed and covetousness impel men to scramble for the wealth which labor produces. No one sympathizes with those who stumble and are trampled under the feet of the selfish crowd. Indeed, such thoughts as these are apt to make laborers suspicious and morose; their experience makes them habitual objectors to all authority, and is the cause of their deep-seated belief that self-government exists only where they themselves govern the community. There is no argument strong enough to convince laborers who believe in this heresy that there can be democracy without home rule.

But, thank God! though false democracy may derange the thoughts of workingmen, it cannot upset truth. Nations are composed of many members, yet are but one body.² In the arrangement of the business of life there are differences of administration and diversities of operation.³ To one is given the word of wisdom, to another knowledge, and another has the gift of healing; but all these worketh the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will. In order that the members should have the same care one for another,⁴ God hath set some in the church, and some in the governments, and some to be their helpers.⁵ The father is set to represent his children, the husband his wife, the guardian his ward, the judge those who are injured in body or estate. Likewise a society is set to represent dumb animals, and another to stand up for deserted children. In the same Christian spirit the tradeunion represents the isolated toilers who cannot protect themselves. In accordance with the Apostle's word: "Whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it,"⁶ the tradeunion proclaims: An injury to one is an injury to all! Therefore, the tradeunion, as representative of unprotected laborers, has a place in a Christian commonwealth, but not in one governed by false democracy, as every capitalist and modern high court judge will tell them.

Believing that every intelligent laborer in the United States

will admit the above truth taken from Sacred Writ, namely: that the representative system is in strict accordance with God's own order of human life; believing also that tradeunions are the representatives of the isolated laborers and living proofs against all lies of false democracy, I ask the speakers of the laboring classes this trenchant question: Why do your tradeunion persists in the follies of false democracy? Why do you cling to home rule, although you know that this method of self-government must in the end defeat the Christian objects of your organization? Why do you try to serve God and the devil at the same time? Your ends do not sanctify your means.

Home rule is that arrangement of trade organization by which the power to determine the standard rate and normal day, as well as the methods to be followed in enforcing union resolutions, is lodged in the local unions. According to the principle of home rule, local unions cannot transfer more of their compulsory power to their national federations than they need to gain temporary objects. For example, a general strike or some particular legal enactments, etc. The sovereignty of the local body must remain intact under all circumstances.

The principle of home rule requires, furthermore, entirely in accordance with the above defined dogma of false democracy, that, if circumstances make it impossible for workingmen to appear in person at legislative assemblies, they may send delegates restricted to transmit the messages of their constituencies. These messengers are allowed to discuss public questions, but they can on no conditions be permitted to use their own judgment and act for their constituencies as they would for themselves. Two new expedients have also been extensively adopted by labor organizations, in order to overcome natural obstacles to the system of home rule in national federations: The Referendum and Initiative. The former term signifies the submission of all laws proposed by the federation to the votes of local unions; the latter means that local unions shall have the privilege of submitting proposals for laws to their federations.

The system of organization on the base of home rule has grown up with American tradeunionism. One labor union settled by the side of another, one trade organized after an-

other. Following accustomed ideas on the government of meetings, the plain workingmen never seriously thought of putting something better in the stead of home rule.

However, the mobility of labor and the modern means of communication have rendered national organizations imperative necessities, and it is understood by all wageworkers living on our continent thousands of miles apart that their interests are identical. It is evident then, that these national bodies, in order to be efficient, should have power to act according to emergencies. Therefore the local unions should no longer, like nervous and distrustful employers, think that they cannot trust anybody and must do everything themselves, in order to get things done correctly. The power now held by the local unions, namely, to conclude collective bargains for the terms of labor, or to raise money by taxation, or to declare war and to conclude peace, must be delegated to their national bodies. Local unions must become executive committees of their national federations. This is the natural progress of a self-reliant people, endowed with common sense.

From a psychological point of view, we find two hateful affections of the will power, namely, mistrust of men and jealousy of superiority, at the bottom of home rule and every other expedient of false democracy. These offsprings of the frailty of human nature act the more powerfully, the less the mild light of reason pacifies the passions of the heart. It is self-evident that, where envy and jealousy are rampant, there cannot be common action for the common good. The experience of several generations of workingmen, demonstrated by the history of European tradeunionism, conclusively proves that the principle of home rule, being an offspring of weak-mindedness, begets impotence of the working classes, and that it sullies public virtue because it is an upshot of the evil passions of the human soul. When, finally, we take into consideration the meager results of the well-meant efforts of American laborers, which were made since more than fifty years through the principle of home rule, we may well corroborate the statement of English leaders that this system operates on tradeunion life like a narcotic on the mind and like a strait-jacket on the great body of laborers.

HOME RULE IN ENGLAND.

The independent ordering of local trade affairs—home rule—was quite natural to the early tradeunions which were formed in England about a century ago, by simple-minded mechanics. Persecuted as criminals and proscribed by public opinion, driven to desperation by Draconic legislation against their cause, reduced to abjectness by hunger and want, the pioneers of the proud tradeunions of England were suspicious of everybody and themselves and exceedingly jealous of their rights. They had to cover their real intentions under some kind of a cloak; their constitution and by-laws were purposely muddled, and, taking even refuge to mummery, they never cared what means they employed to gain their ends. Remember the misdeeds of the Sons of Lud in England and of the Molly Maguires in America!

Tradeunions of this period recognized no superior authority. The majority of votes was their highest law. Officers were chosen frequently for each separate meeting and everybody was bound to serve. Committeemen were taken from the roster in rotation. Nobody asked if they were fit to do the work expected of them. "We are all equal," so these naive democrats said, "and we do our common business by turns." Exactly so spoke the early American colonists.

Very few societies had a permanent fund or a regular treasurer. Current expenses were often met by passing around the hat. Of course, as things go even now in prominent American unions, the society funds were often squandered on trifling objects. Ambitious members desiring popularity were always ready to move the expenditure of money for some charitable object; and members were ever cheerful dispensers of charity—from the public funds. This period of democratic home rule was the time when, for example, in 1826, the Manchester compositors resolved after a long wrangle "that tobacco be allowed to such members of this society as require it at any meeting," and when the steam-engine makers, about 1830, "resolved that one-third of the income shall be spent at each meeting for refreshments."

But the exigencies of tradeunion life cured the sturdy Eng-

lishmen of their primitive notions. The journeymen engineers, for example, were early in this century but a number of disconnected local unions. The natural fluctuations of business made traveling from place to place in search of work a necessity for the members. In order to secure the advantages of membership to all, they formed, as early as 1822, the Mechanics' Friendly Union Institution, which was a very loose confederacy, merely intended to extend the charities of trade-unions.

More than the desire to help each other when traveling in search of work, it was the necessity of continual warfare against their employers and their authorities, which brought about a thorough change of the original plan of organization. The Society of London Tailors had a special organization for war purposes. Consisting in time of peace of a number of disconnected clubs which met at their houses of call, since the middle of the eighteenth century, they elected for every strike a committee, composed of deputies from the local unions, who wielded unlimited power over the whole trade and its funds. Hardly anybody knew the members of the strike committees personally, but they were implicitly obeyed. Francis Place,²⁴ a master tailor and great organizer of labor, wrote in 1818: "On no occasion has it ever been known that their commands exceeded the necessities of the occasion."

Similar reasons led the engineers, about the year 1834, to form a federation on the principle that all engineers in every town and shop were one society, composed of the members of all branches. The local bodies were subordinated to the main body and received their constitutions from them. The funds of each branch were common property, at the disposition of the main branch, or, if it was possible, of a meeting of delegates. Since 1839 this society gave the most thorough trial to the system of legislating through restricted delegates, the referendum and initiative, until, in 1864, the whole antiquated rubbish of checks on their self-chosen officers and representatives was thrown overboard.

As early as 1846 the delegate meeting of the iron moulders took the power of declaring war on the employers from the local unions. In an address to their constituency they said:

"The system of allowing disputes to be sanctioned by meetings of our members generally laboring under some excitement or other, is decidedly bad. Our members do not feel that responsibility on these occasions which they ought. They are liable to be misled. A clever speech, party feeling, a misrepresentation, a specious letter, all or any of these may involve a shop or a whole branch in a dispute unjustly, and, possibly, without the least chance of obtaining their object. Impressed with the truth of these opinions, we have handed over for the future the power of sanctioning disputes to the Executive Committee of the main body alone."

The stonemasons did the same in 1843, and other societies followed this course of limiting the striking liberty of the local unions. One of the youngest societies of the building trades, the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, which is also the largest and wealthiest, has for twenty years forbidden its branches to strike "without first obtaining the sanction of the executive council . . . whether it be for a new privilege or against an encroachment on existing ones."

The formation of so-called governing branches and the growth of the federations through the addition of branches imposed on the tradeunions the necessity of appointing permanent general secretaries under a salary. The right of appointment fell to the meeting of delegates. Then the branches grew jealous of the powers of the delegates as well as of those of the governing branches. They claimed the right of the initiative in legislation and the privilege of the referendum. The Friendly Society of Operative Stonemasons issued an address in 1836, in which they said: "That each lodge shall furnish its delegates with written instructions how to vote on each question." In 1837 the Liverpool lodge demanded: "That all alterations made in our laws shall be communicated to all lodges for the consideration of our society, before they are printed." Thus the referendum was fully tried in England and by mutual consent discarded about the year 1870. The most absurd propositions were submitted and the red tapeism of the referendum and initiative proved to be too slow work for the exigencies of tradeunion life. The Iron Founders' Monthly Report, April,

1853, characterizes the system in these words: "We have got into a proposition mania. One branch will make propositions simply because another does; hence the absurd and ridiculous propositions that were actually made." One meeting of delegates was to decide whether the central executive committee should have "a cup of ale each per night." The coach makers had to put no less than fifty-four propositions on the list at one time. One branch of the stonemasons wanted to sell the office of general secretary at public auction to the lowest bidder. In short, there was no end to the abuse of these prerogatives of stubborn democrats. The system worked especially disastrous on the contributions. While every branch was willing to vote in favor of charities to be paid out of the common fund, none ever believed that contributions had to be raised. Many branches fell into bankruptcy and when a strike was at the door there was no money in the exchequer.

The change from this to the truly representative system of government began between 1840 and 1850. The branches grew tired of proposing laws which were rejected. Some trades made the proposing branches pay for the expenses of the referendum, in consequence of which they resigned their rights. Others amended their constitutions so as to make the referendum inactive at least for a year or so. The bookbinders in 1869 forbade changes to be made in their laws for three years; the bricklayers, in 1889, for ten years. In 1878 the stonemasons, who forty years previously decided for home rule pure and simple, ordered that amendments and new laws should be made only by special commissions.

Such was the shape of the English tradeunionism of the past generation. Organizations which stuck to the antiquated forms and devices of home rule succumbed. The modern English tradeunions have profited by the experience of their predecessors, and in adopting one after another the truly representative system, they have solved the problem of how to unite many particles of political power under one common democratic government. The summary of the experience of all prominent English tradeunions is beautifully expressed by Sidney and Beatrice Webb:⁷ "The reliance of tradeunion democrats on the referendum resulted, in fact, in the virtual exclu-

sion of the general body of members from all real share in the government." "Government by such contrivances as rotation in office, the mass-meeting, the referendum and initiative, or the delegate restricted by his mandate, leads straight either to disintegration or to the uncontrolled dominance of a personal dictator."

The best corroboration of my arguments, which, indeed, are but a reiteration of the arguments of all students of tradeunionism in England, Germany and France, is to be found in the printed documents of the employers. Whenever centralizations of unions seemed to be perfected, they became alarmed with danger and invoked heaven and earth for their assistance. In 1845 a combine of employers cautioned the English people against large federations. In a widely circulated document, they approved of small local trade clubs, but asked for legislative action against national federations, in order to save the English laborers from the tyranny of central trade bodies. Forsooth, the capitalists of every country have always been unanimous in declaring that the liberty and prosperity of the poor workingman are their sole concern! Again, when the organized English employers appeared before a royal commission, 1867-8, they emphatically demanded the forcible demolition of national trade bodies which enjoyed a common fund and unity of government. They declared their willingness to put up with the spasmodic efforts of local tradeunions, but feared that national federations would become the determining powers of industry, and, of course, as employers always say, drive capital away.

HOME RULE IN AMERICA.

While studious friends of tradeunionism admire the unshaken firmness of English mechanics, it is perplexing to notice the wavering policy of Americans. Being the most progressive workingmen in the world, they are the most backward in the organizations of their class. While the employing producers comprehend that nothing short of closed national trade organizations will end the misery of competition, their workingmen plod along in the wilderness of the antiquated

democratic notions of government through home rule and kindred forms of primitive tradeunionism. They elect their officers for short periods, and exhaust their statesmanship by applying those poor contrivances to preserve their local independence which their English brethren have found wanting and threw overboard more than twenty-five years ago.

The will of the majority of local unions is the highest moral and economic law of their members. In all questions of national importance, the leaders of federations, who are supposed to represent the larger interest of the class of wageworkers, are mere advisory committees, and, as a man generally asks his friends for advice in serious questions, only to accept that which confirms his own prejudices, so do the local unions follow the advice of their superiors only when it suits them. Their meetings are occupied with local affairs; personalities, quibbles and trivial complaints against individual employers are the themes of protracted discussions, which tire the better elements of the trades. The union rooms are the places for dyspeptic people to vent all kinds of bad temper and cherished grudges, and for visionaries to find hearers for their impractical schemes, but not for sound craftsmen, who furnish the union funds and want to improve therewith the condition of their class and that of their country withal. The union cause is the imperial cloak which common busybodies put on to give a nimbus to low endeavors, and under it despicable political coteries foster a narrow caste spirit in order to remain cocks in their little barnyards.

One should think that all the energies of the unions would be summoned into action in order to rally the distracted political power of the working classes. But, alas! the reverse is true. Officially courting inaction, the labor unions unofficially atomize the individualized labor vote. In business, they say: In union is strength, but in politics they shout: In dissension is strength. Instead of feeling like a brotherhood of citizens, subject to many wrongs and contumely, tradeunionists feel like errant knights looking with indifference or hatred upon the common ways of redressing wrongs, and showing their prowess in a Quixotic style. Ever ready for an ambuscade on the employing classes, tradeunionists are mostly populists, money-

debasers, anti-trust men, free-traders, socialists, and, as a general thing, ardent friends of every proposition pointing to the sequestration of some kind of property which is not their own. Of late, they are subject to the mania of instituting municipal ownership of street railways and gas works. The leaders of the different cliques obtain their political wisdom from their cherished newspapers, but none ever seriously pays attention to the grand and instructive works on the question of how to organize trades, in order to reduce the normal day and to arrive at successful collective bargaining for wages.

Union men quarrel about every possible non-union scheme and consume their intellectual strength in the furtherance of the political projects of the enemies of their class. Inefficiency is all around. Every attempt at comprehensive organization is sickled over with germs of disintegration. Ring rule and dictatorship take the place of popular government. Do I exaggerate? Wherever I perceive the genuine spirit of solidarity there I also scent the breath of oligarchy, dividing labor's power or consuming it in petty jealousies, while jingoism, which is drunken loyalty, staggers through tradeunionism and dissipates the energies of labor. How madly raves jingoism among the workingmen when Government elections approach! Our ears resound with the barbarous dissonance of frantic appeals to organized labor, fanning into flames the smouldering embers of passion. The mingled cries of inflamed rage and avarice, together with the flatteries of ambition and howls of revenge, infatuate and bewilder the honest laboring people and dissolve tradeunionism into the dust of deluded factions, that gather around demagogues at the polls.

Yes, home rule is the labor jingoes' rule. They cry, "We have no use for federations and general secretaries who draw salaries to tell us when and where to strike and how to vote in politics. We want the liberty to do what we please, and each of us wants to be equal to any craftsman or statesman in the world."

And, as a herd of sheep bleats when the bell-wether starts his monotonous cry, so do the crowds of good craftsmen join the song of the labor jingoes, unwittingly keeping asunder those trade societies who, for their dearest interests, should act in unison.

But, remember, laboring friends, this liberty on which the jingo feasts is of a questionable shape, and I shall challenge it to show its hideous face. It is the liberty of the ancient Roman father, who had the democratic privilege to kill his wife and children or sell them into slavery. It is the liberty of that class of modern manufacturers who would, as Schopenhauer says, kill men to sell their fat as boot grease. It is the liberty of the Southern slave barons, who said: We want no Union to interfere with our system of unpaid labor. It is the liberty of those political bosses who want no authorities to interfere with their little game in towns and States. In short, it is the liberty of every dubious character who wants to be an autocrat in the union, municipality or State; and, strange to say, each one of them is an ardent friend of popular government as long as home rule is the shibboleth.

From an economic point of view, the individualized unions have done little more than to legalize, that is, adopt in their scale the wages and rules of labor which they found to be customary in their localities. They had their hands full with the task of raising wages, as the purchasing power of each dollar decreased, and to keep their standard when it increased. I do not believe that the sum total paid for identical work in our country is increased to any particular extent; but I do believe that the distribution of the total wages of almost every trade is seriously unbalanced through the home rule system of trade-unionism. The city workers get more and the country workers less money for the same exertions.

Although all intelligent craftsmen know that this condition is not tenable, their local unions never think of introducing a trade policy covering the requirements of every section of the country. The mere mentioning of the idea of equalizing the conditions of labor fills the worthy village craftsmen with that innate dislike which weak or sickly persons feel when asked to muster up their strength for one grand effort. Tradeunions in Rahway or Bridgeport, for example, have no higher purpose than to preserve intact their little meat pots and to see that the New Yorkers get none of their mess. They care not a whit for the harm they do to their brethren in the neighborhood by underbidding their unions or working longer hours than they

do. A man who works for \$15 a week can be an excellent union man in Jersey City, but he would be blacklisted if he should do the same thing one mile away from the location of his union.

Large and influential trade bodies waste their funds and consume their energies by following up the illusion that any coterie can manipulate the law of demand and supply to operate in their favor. Strikes to create sinecures in the name of the union are not uncommon. Working rules with a view to employ three men on jobs which two men could easily do are the order of the day. American organized labor is forgetting entirely that the true policy of tradeunionism is to raise wages and to reduce the hours of labor so that consumption can be increased, and that the families of laborers themselves may enjoy the fruits of their handiwork. The leaders of local unions never rise to that elevated point of view from which they can overlook the mighty motions of production and consumption by whole trades; they never understand the life conditions on which the income of their members depends. So one union spends thousands of dollars to create the possibility for half a dozen "out-of-works" to get situations that do not belong to them, and a dozen or so unions nearby legalize scales which are sure to take the bread and butter from the mouths of their neighbors.

In large industrial centers, where employers are in strategically weak positions, local unions brag of the cheap glory of laying the bosses low and carrying each proposition in an impolitic manner. National federations, however, which apparently exist for mere ostentation and as convenient collecting agencies for strike funds for local unions who are in distress, are utterly helpless against the arbitrariness of employers in country districts, where they flourish on starvation wages and practice the trucking and all other cunning tricks of brutal capitalism.

How can this be different when, in a city full of sweat shops, a pretentious Central Labor Union knows nothing better to do than to invoke the majesty of the law against a certain street car line for having made the car steps too high! Or when another federation of different trades keeps a president to argue

down the spirit of solidarity, when, in holy anger, it threatens to impel offended workingmen to sympathetic strikes! How finely the local union and federation mongers agree in this respect with all the capitalists and their press! Is it not an alarming sign of rottenness somewhere in the American industrial democracy that, with an army of Knights of Labor to undo capitalization, American tradeunionism is still beyond the pale of constitutional law? Bear in mind that in England it enjoys governmental sanction since 1825.

Is tradeunionism to be blamed or are its leaders, with their peculiar methods, at fault, when our insufficient factory laws are utterly disregarded in the face of officials, whom labor leaders pointed out before their election as most recommendable "Me-too-toilers." Alas! What is our boast of freedom of election and our vainglorious style of talk about our government by and for the people? With all the judges that organized labor elects in every State, American justice is still the justice of unmitigated Manchesterdom, and for every really good law there is a judge to find it unconstitutional.

The worst, however, is that tradeunionism as it presents itself in the foolscap of home rule, cannot make the slightest impression on the educating classes and that important part of society which is not directly interested in the manner in which the net surplus of the national industry is divided. Therefore, American professors of economy evade the propositions of tradeunionism and ignore the school of modern economists which takes account of its influence on the production and distribution of wealth. What is the use? they think. From present appearances, tradeunionism will soon be a thing of the past. Statesmen do not consider labor organizations and their principles as powers which they have to reckon, because, as soon as any really great man in the councils of the nation takes up their cause, the voters skip and run with demagogues who view them as they would a school of fish that can be caught with some peculiar kind of bait.

American employers generally despise, ignore and hate tradeunionism, instead of weighing off its economic value. Some few gentlemen among them charitably look upon national labor unions with their pomp and outward trappings as child's

play and hobbies, engendered by a socialistic breeze blowing from effete Europe. The delegates of national bodies, especially of the less intelligent classes, are accordingly treated with contempt when they approach their employers with union resolves. I think I am not far from the truth when I say that most of the strike riots in the mining districts and railroad centers are precipitated by the contumely of corporation officials who know that these big national organizations are "strong in flesh but weak in spirit. It is the dollars and cents class of people that would be the first to do homage to the labor power if it only knew how to use its strength in peaceful and legal ways.

THE SUMMARY.

My homily is finished, and now let me sum up. A balance-sheet showing the profit and loss of a large undertaking in which many factors work together has often a wonderful effect upon young managers, who are always apt to mistake hopes for facts.

American tradeunionism has merely made the first steps in its career. It has inspired mechanics living in industrial centers with courage enough to assert their rights and to ask for such wages as they could not have had if they had remained individualized. By their success they have prevented the acquiescence of the laboring population in the dispensations of the class of employers, and were able at least to organize resistance against the wrongs of certain capitalists. On trying the second step, namely, to introduce a common trade policy for the skilled mechanics and to organize victory for the unskilled laborers, they have utterly failed. And there is no hope for labor, organized on the basis of home rule, even to try the third step, which consists in the legal prescription of a national minimum of wages and hours, in order to prevent any industry from being carried on under conditions which are hurtful to the community because, like the New York sweat shops, they breed helpless proletarians.

It would be a great wrong to underrate this first achievement of American tradeunionism; but there is not very much merit

connected with the formation of the present local unions, which are at best only rudimentary instruments to carry out the policy of labor. At the period of growth of the first tradeunions, American organizers had to deal with a generous class of employers who lived up to the good old rule: Live and let live. The unions succeeded in most cases in getting advances for the mere asking. The old school of employers firmly believed that the formation of unions was merely a temporary aberration, sure to be cured by the magical influence of what they considered "the most perfect political institutions in the world." Therefore, they never took tradeunions seriously. The resistance which the early organizers found resulted in most cases from the manner and form in which they made their union demands. In no country have more strikes occurred from sentimental reasons than in America, of which the most important was the principle of old democrats: "I do not want to be dictated to in my business."

The industry of the country, protected by a good tariff, yielded a large income, and employers could afford to be liberal in the payment of wages. But when, later on, the old school of producers saw that the union spirit had come to stay, they were loth to concede the principles of tradeunionism, and began to invoke the powers of States against this institution. On trying the experiment, however, the employers found themselves at a great disadvantage. The country enjoyed a government which, although not favorably inclined toward the cause of the wageworkers, would at least not dare to raise its weighty hand against their unions, because they were units of political strength.

On the whole, American organizers were in clover compared with the pioneers of the English tradeunions. They never met with systematic resistance of long duration, and were in no case compelled to organize their forces with such a degree of perfection as is necessary to carry on a protracted war to the knife. The organizations could afford to go to sleep and rest on the cheap laurels of their first efforts. There was no need to drill the small companies day by day, and the general officers could well afford to doze on the rule: "Let well enough alone."

Of course, the above remarks have reference to the period immediately following the war of 1861-4. The conditions of industry are different now from what they were then. The net income of business is reduced. Therefore, the old liberality of American employers is on the wane. Competition compels them to be close-fisted and to inaugurate a policy of aggressive resistance against the demands of organized labor. Having found that they cannot utilize the State governments in their campaign against tradeunionism, they naturally endeavor to form an alliance with the United States Government, which is stronger and more remote from the election districts, where factories and mines are located.

Their success in this direction is, indeed, alarming in the highest degree. Organized in almost invulnerable form, the producers confront consumers as absolute dictators of prices, and laborers, as lords over their bread and butter. Apparently they are determined to crush resistance and to dominate in society and State, if possible, by virtue of injunctions; and if it must be, by the force of soldiers impressed in the service of capitalism through the legal power of the judiciary of the United States.

In this emergency let me warn you, my laboring friends, of the perils of being divided by small local interests. Remember, the way to overcome the awful power of the United States is not to be found in riotous acts and the burning of industrial plants. Keep in your heart the advice which the true Democrat Alexander Hamilton gave to the people of his time:⁸ "Trust not even those brilliant appearances of genius and patriotism which, like transient meteors, sometimes mislead, as well as dazzle," and rely on nobody, but on God and yourselves, always remembering that your organization ought to be your better self. Through your unions alone you can develop your moral strength, which is greater than you are aware of; your pettifogging home rule business demoralizes them and you personally. Give it up, which means, give up your vanity, your suspicion, your envy and jealousy.

If you want to know how others of your class rose from bondage to liberty, through tradeunionism, study with unprejudiced minds the valiant deeds of the skilled bondsmen

who smote, about a thousand years ago, on bloody battlefields, their armored lords and warlike bishops. Or, the famous achievements of the craftsmen's guilds which, in the darkest Middle Ages, preserved in their quaint old towns the "peace pledge" and the useful arts, while in the king's dominions the club law of the noblemen extinguished Christian civilization.⁹

Then read the wondrous story of Old England's "common lot,"¹⁰ who, in less than a hundred years, upset the master's modern club law and re-established in their humble unions the ancient covenant of the "peace pledge," to guard their people when at work. From the very start they were confronted by a narrow-minded and close-fisted class of employers who lived in constant dread of as bloody a revolution as they had witnessed in France, and shrank from no means whatsoever to repress or even to exterminate the preachers of tradeunionism. In the ceaseless struggle against their employers, who enjoyed the sympathies of government and church, the English laborers were compelled to perfect their organization. In everlasting strikes they learned the art of organizing their forces, and that the end of organization is peace. Now try to learn the same thing from them, and throw the books dilating on the "isms" of the day into the hell fire of your furnaces.

The sun of that wisdom which warms the heart and makes it the home of the eternal spirit of solidarity shines through the history of the oppressed of every nation. It will enkindle faith in your fellow-beings, hope for humanity, and that charity which never faileth. May this spirit of the ancient craftsmen's guilds, ever fresh and animating, once hovering over little towns, abide with you, Americans, to cover under its beneficent wings a continent full of toilers.

ROTATION IN OFFICE.

When false democracy struggled for existence in America, its leaders filled the people with fears, that some tyrants might arise in Washington if they were to vest the Federal Government with sovereign power.

"What, if the President, or Congress, or the Supreme Courts tyrannize the people?" wailed false democracy, and brooding

over the dire prospects of having a stable government, its suspicions overturned what wisdom had built up. The democracy of Andrew Jackson's period invented the system of rotation in office, and, of course, all dubious characters with blasted fortunes and reputations liked it; for it gave them all a chance by perseverance and impertinence to rotate into office.*

Since that time rotation in office has become popular, and, of course, every tradeunion adopted this system as a natural method of democracy to control government. But, as far as tradeunion life is concerned, it seems, indeed, difficult for such labor leaders as think rotation in office a good preventive against tyranny, to make out how federations or trades could possibly hurt the rights of individual craftsmen. No national trade body could tyrannize a local union to such a degree that this crippling and non-effective safeguard of false democracy should be a necessity. Nor will any federation of labor ever persecute a man for the sake of his religious or political faith; neither will they ever have bastiles, armies or detectives to disturb the peace of the workingmen; nor will they ever injure the common cause which brought them into existence. They will never be powers outside of and over the people, but they will always remain what they are now, the people themselves in organized shape. Officers of federations may adopt methods which are different from those of local unions, but that is not tyranny. There are many ways towards one great aim, and to select the one which is the best, according to the views of a high official, is not despotism but duty. As men standing

* In order to show that the true democrats of Jackson's period deeply felt the shame of this system, I cite the following and refer to the speeches of H. Clay, J. Adams, and to the Debates of Congress, Vol. VIII., for other speeches of the same character.

"Is there any country more infested than this with the vermin that breed in the corruption of power? Is there any in which place and official emolument more certainly follow distinguished servility at elections, or base scurrility in the press? . . . Why, sir, we hear the clamor of the craving animals at the Treasury trough here in this capital. Such running, such jostling, such wriggling, such clamoring over one another's backs, such squealing because the tub is so narrow and the company so crowded!"—*Life of Quincy*, p. 221.

on the summit of a high mountain can overlook a wider sphere than those who always remain in a valley, so will officials at the head of national federations get a larger view of the business of life than those who never go anywhere else than from home to the workshop.

Conceding even that rotation in office is congenial to American views of organization, it is very difficult to see why the primitive forms of the industrial democracy should be retained, while it is evident that American tradeunionism has outgrown its primitive state. The ancient rules, "What concerns all should be decided by all," and "the business of all must be done by all without pay," may be as good for a set of backwoods factory hands, fighting an isolated employer, as they were for the democracy of colonial times, meeting in the town hall to regulate their commonwealths; but they are as fatal to national tradeunionism as they were to the confederacy which preceded the present United States.

The silly system of rotation in office puts every year novices in the foreground to grapple with employers. Courageously they "go for them," soon to find out that their vaulting ambition has placed them in the middle of thoughts beyond the range of a person whose mind is wrapped up in workshop and local union notions, and whose heart can never be free from the cares for his daily bread and butter. Honest to the core, but inexperienced in the refinements of worldly intercourse, union officers, especially "restricted delegates," are seldom "wise as serpents and harmless as doves."¹¹ They generally enter upon their career with the strong conviction that the local union is always on the side of right and justice. Vainglorious thoughts which are styled "class consciousness" often lurk deep in their hearts, such as the Pharisee had in his mind when he prayed thus with himself: "God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust,"¹² like capitalists. And, alas, the vulgar luxury of American capitalists far too often twists in the mind of young labor leaders the plain truths of tradeunionism into the yarns of that philosophy of envy which haunts the columns of modern labor papers.

Thus starting from a tangle of prejudices and half digested economic theories, the modern tradeunion officers think of

nothing but their clear cause and steer with full steam ahead, disregarding altogether the complicated facts of practical life. Forgetting that Apostolic admonition "We are all sinners," and judging according to their peculiar views of right and wrong, they frequently offend the employers' sense of justice and fitness. Thus it comes that, although the average tradeunion officials often succeed in a particular issue, they generally widen the breach between the industrial classes. They confirm by their methods the erroneous opinion, that modern tradeunionism disregards the fixed laws of society, and that its end is not to guarantee living wages to the laboring class, but domination pure and simple.

Tradeunions must not forget that the men who confront them are, in common parlance, the "fittest" of the trade. Not on account of any particular excellence of character or distinction through wealth, no, simply because they have, in an endless series of struggles with the world, acquired such a lynx-like perspicuity, coupled with suavity of manners, as insures tact and decision to do the right thing at the proper time. These superior qualities will be more than a match for the average tradeunion man in any kind of parley for which the employers are always well prepared. Beside the general knowledge of the world, modern employers have learned the weaknesses of their antagonists in a tedious struggle with labor, which is like the irksome fight of a man who wants rest against a swarm of mosquitoes. They know the general faults of the character of workingmen, while the average tradeunion men generally proceed from faulty opinions of the character of employers.

It is true, there are everywhere prominent workingmen acting as successful leaders in meetings, and even as good representatives in politics and labor federations. But tradeunionism, in its struggle with individualism, requires the qualifications of statesmen and whatever the natural endowments of prominent laborers may be, they have generally no experience in conducting negotiations between economic powers, ready at any moment to resort to methods of compulsion. Even though a labor representative have the gift of diplomacy, his constituents hardly ever give him time to develop that rare

faculty of mediation between powers at variance with each other.

Let us hope then, that the tradeunions will gradually abolish the system of rotation in office, which deprives their best men of the opportunity to learn by personal experience. Stop changing the tradeunion staff, merely for the sake of changing it, and re-elect approved men year by year. Then the days of those delegates will be gone, who never speak from respect of truth, but always for stage effect. The skilful mediators who can feel as the workingman feels and speak as the employers speak, will come forward and prevent the growth of divergent notions of right and wrong in daily intercourse. Good and capable men are here and there and everywhere! Love of country still elevates the hearts above the higgling of the market, and eyes still gleam when the Star Spangled Banner is unfurled, and masters and journeymen have not yet ceased to think of one country, one flag, one law!

It is merely the sickly view of liberty, imparted to industry by the false democracy with the principle of rotation in office, that is despoiling American tradeunionism of the services of experienced men, who are willing to devote their lives to the cause of labor. The tradeunions keep their brightest lights "in a secret place" and deliver themselves to projectors and philosophists who are willing to spread ruin without compunction and persuade themselves and their followers that crime is virtue. Amidst the cries of "Hosanna" the unions elect presidents and secretaries; thus inspiring them with lofty thoughts, they divert the most spirited and energetic of their ranks from the common business ways. It is true, some unions grudgingly pay their secretaries small salaries for the performance of duties that render them unfit for the workshop. But even such a pittance as prominent unions pay, incites envy and avarice among the "out-of-work" and those who can cry louder than the loudest in office. They all sing out, "Rotation in office is the safeguard of liberty!" and before secretaries and delegates have learned what to do and how to do it, their unions sacrifice the poor fellows and their families to the Moloch of false democracy.

Thus it comes that the practical wisdom, taught by the trials

of tradeunion life, is wasted year by year. Experience teaches American labor nothing, because it regularly destroys the repositories of experience, by way of rotating out of office their tried presidents, secretaries and delegates. Fit leaders rise and disappear again with the sad knowledge that American industrial democracy is not only thankless, but even most cruel to its truest devotees. And there will not be lasting progress until organized labor understands that it must create a first-class civil service and by good pay and tenure of office hold men in its employ who know how to conclude good union bargains with the employers. Labor wants higher wages, a shorter workday, more legislation on sanitation and safety and less metaphysics! The American industrial democracy wants more results and fewer projects!

A CASE IN POINT.

It was no less than fifty years after the first nine-hour strike in England,¹³ and twenty-five years after the passage of the Fifty-six Hours Bill by Parliament, 1873, that the journeymen printers of America succeeded in getting the floor of their masters' association to bargain for a reduction of the normal working day in the year 1898. Their representative federation, the International Typographical Union, is not an aggregate of angry crowds of dissatisfied printers, harassing reluctant employers, but a respectable body of national extent, aiming at the organization of their disintegrating industry. For years they had gathered their material and moral strength and endeavored to substitute rational methods of intercourse with their organized employers, for the primitive ways of extorting, either by defiance or sullen perseverance, better terms from individual employers. However, when the occasion arrived to meet the buyers of their labor like salesmen of a reputable house, there was some higgling, ending with a deep sigh, "Thank God, we are still alive!"

When the human soul loses control of its best weapon of defence—the mind—it seeks relief in ejaculations of distress. I think it is good for printerdom to understand the psychology of this historical sigh, ending the first negotiations between the organized master and journeymen printers of America.

Two committeemen had been selected from the ranks of the workingmen to convey union resolves to the employers' meeting, and there to plead for the peaceful acceptance of their proposition in the form of an ultimatum. The task of these delegates consisted in, firstly, to express the mind of their constituency with polite firmness; secondly, with high-mindedness and manly recognition of elevated principles, to control the well-known animosity of employers against treating with journeymen in a body; thirdly, by the incontrovertible arguments of enlightened political economy to appease the bosses' fear of losses; and fourthly, to realize, if not all of union desires, at least the largest possible instalment thereof.

These two good-souled printers, who are undoubtedly first-rate craftsmen and managers of local unions, were the target of a shower of odd quirks and irrelevant quibbles which quite overwhelmed their self-complacency. One employer wanted to know where the \$250,000 were to come from, wherewith to buy the building plots for the house he would need to put the presses in that he would require to make up for time that was to be lost by the new nine-hour movement. Another one mercilessly cross-examined the poor workingman on the alleged federation of the printing trades, instead of adducing reasons pro and con, perhaps to measure the striking force of the journeymen and to make up his mind as to right and wrong after determining which party seemed most likely to win.

Of course, it was most interesting for the employing printers to know as much as possible about the organization of the Allied Printing Trades, in order to gauge their opponents' strength, which is, as the world goes, the measure of respect. The delegate of the pressmen's union answered every question put to him with this view quite truthfully and with charming simplicity. Unconsciously he laid bare the weakness of his federation, instead of hiding it from the employers' view, who ought to have been impressed with such motives of persuasion, as usually arise from the cognizance of an opponent's moral and material strength. He said, for example: "The International Typographical Union has no authority, except such as is delegated to them by the local unions," and "the

local union is to dictate what is too much and too little" (wages), etc.

Among his answers was one that particularly characterizes not only the Allied Printing Trades, but most of the American national labor organizations, namely, "We have no power, but a strong disposition." This statement ought to be the subject of special meditation for all true friends of tradeunionism. It means, as I take it, with special reference to the International Typographical Union, that this body would like to cope with the vital problem of adopting a sound national trade policy, intended to establish normal wages and normal hours for identical work in all parts of the country, but that confessedly it has not the power to do so. The phrase used by the delegate is, therefore, a polite paraphrase of the truthful assertion: The International Typographical Union knows its duty, but is too impotent to perform it. I suppose the employing printers heard this painful confession with a sardonic smile. It unveiled the Printing Federation to be an awful giant, whose nerves transmit impressions on the outward senses to the brain, but who lacks the centrifugal system to command and to control the limbs. Or, to show this paralysis of a big body in a still more glaring light, I dare say, that the Printing Federation appears like the wooden hero in a puppet show, gaping and stalking along the stage to the leading strings of a few hundred of local unions who do the thinking and talking behind the scene.

My dear printers, I ask you as comrades in the struggle of tradeunionism against trade individualism, how can you expect master printers to respect your cause if you yourself persist in legalizing the glaring apostasy from the first article of tradeunion faith: *Identical Pay for Identical Work in an Identical Country!*

Is there any one among you who will deny that the weakness of administration which permits each town to have its own standard rate and working rules must act upon the very life of tradeunionism just as disintegratingly as would the weakness of a local union to let each member fix his own standard of wages and hours of labor?

Indeed, the strangest phenomenon of the first bargaining

day between united journeymen printers and their organized employers, in 1898, is, that the master printers look to the International Typographical Union for relief from the curse of such competition, as is practiced through low wages in country districts. This shows that unconsciously the better class of employing printers lean toward tradeunionism, although I believe that they declaim against it. But they are repulsed by the half-heartedness of the exponents of this new and yet so old economic creed. They know full well that union printers in suburban towns clearly obtain a supply of labor force for which they do not pay, and they conclude that as long as the International Typographical Union legalizes under the caption "differences in the cost of living" such differences in the standard wages as exist especially in the neighborhood of industrial centers, they cannot be considered as fair representatives of a trade doctrine with the motto "Justice above liberty."

The employers cannot consider the union men as equals in collective bargaining, valid for the whole trade, if they shirk the duty of doing their share in abolishing the present anarchy of competition, which pares down the incomes of journeymen and masters alike. Those high-minded printers who understand full well that common action is necessary to shift the burden of competition from the price to the quality of printed matter, will justly refuse to negotiate with a national federation of printers' unions which persists in carrying on a small guerrilla war against individual employers, while it ignores the most abominable parasitism which is growing up under the eyes of its largest local unions. No persons know better than the leaders of the International Typographical Union that the employers ought to be their comrades in a war against those parasite printers who consume the labor strength of helpless villagers, mostly women, without paying sufficient wages to replace their wasted clothing, thereby compelling them to rely on parents, husbands and lovers to make up the deficiency.

Therefore, while all craftsmen ought to reflect upon the experience of this first meeting of their two national representative bodies, the International Typographical Union

should begin at once with a general leveling up of the conditions of labor which they have gained so far. This requires without further argument the thorough reformation of this body and its investiture with as much power as is needed to issue mandates, not only to local unions composed of six members, but also to the Big Six of the Empire City.

III.—THE NEW TRADEUNION.

FRONT THE EMPLOYERS.

Before taking up the question of how to organize American labor on a representative basis, let me briefly recapitulate my assumptions.

I believe, and I hope, in common with every intelligent workingman, that the jurisdiction of the tradeunion should be one and indivisible within the limits of each trade; and, that the existing lines of demarcation, which are drawn by localities, races or religions, are pernicious to the cause of labor. In other words, I believe, that tradeunionism, for example, like that of the printers in New York, misses its ends, because three independent bodies, separated by racial and religious division lines, as well as a number of small unions in the neighborhood, legalize inconsistent rules and scales. The life of tradeunionism is a uniform minimal scale and a standard workday, insuring living wages, wherever the Star Spangled Banner waves. The liberty of small coteries of Germans, Hebrews, Bridgeporters or Kalamazooters, to nibble on the minimal scale or to legalize longer than the standard hours, is death to tradeunionism.

Secondly, I believe, that the fighting strength of a tradeunion lies not in the large bank account of a numerically strong local body, nor in the liberality of its members to support sister unions when in trouble, but in the ready cash of a central trade government and the discipline of the local bodies and their members. I believe, therefore, that the trade government ought to have unlimited control of the strike funds of local bodies, as well as the absolute right and duty to levy

taxes and to issue mandates to local unions and their members whenever exigencies require it. It is past the possibility of the wisest men on earth to predetermine by fixed rules, how trade interests must be protected in all vicissitudes of business life. The best generalship is bound to fail, if its strategy and tactics are determined through the cumbersome devices of home rule with its referendum appendages. The best attorney of the thousands of individual laborers cannot conclude favorable labor contracts, valid for the whole trade, if he have no power to act according to judgment at the moment when he is bargaining with the employers.

Let us then organize labor as if it were one all-powerful giant standing in the middle of the American Continent, in majestic repose. His feet are in New York and San Francisco and everywhere. His eyes pierce through the darkness of every sweat shop; his memory has on record the good and evil deeds of every employer in the country; his intellect permeates every house of call and weighs how to alleviate the needs of the unfortunates who have no work. He balances the supply with the demand of labor in every town and hamlet of the country, and guards with suspicious vigilance the standard rate and normal day where both are most exposed to infraction. Woe to him who thinks that he could on the sly gnaw away the substance of the giant. His arm has the strength of ten hundred thousand men, and where his mighty hand should fall, it would not only strike, but crush!

I see the grin of the American labor jingo who reads this pen picture and the contemptuous mien of the employer who thinks it impossible to unite American laborers, because they seem to be querulous, jealous and stubborn. I hear both declare that the story of the giant labor is a visionary piece of poetry, emanating from the brains of a man whose common sense is dissolved in the fiery wine of hope. But let me tell you, unsophisticated laboring men, especially those of printedom, that the story of the giant labor is no idle dream, nor a mere phantasy written to exhilarate dull minds in a moment of leisure. It is a pen picture of real tradeunion life in England, and I placed it before your mind's eye in order to inspire you with that hope which will uphold you that you may live.¹⁴

Why could you not do like your English comrades? In the nature of the American people there is a wonderful capacity for subordination under the laws of voluntary associations. There is in its character a peculiar gift of shaping and preserving personal liberty through self-government by association. With innate joy do our people idealize and regulate everyday life by forming societies for the promotion of its material and spiritual welfare. The gift to bear the inconveniences of subordination under self-imposed rules with good humor for the sake of the higher objects of life, is pre-eminently American, and it will enable the trades to do even better than the English pioneers of popular organization.

The moving spirit of English labor in its step from home rule to trade solidarity was William Newton,¹⁵ of the engineers. After having lost his position as foreman in a large establishment on account of his tradeunionism, he devoted himself entirely to the task of bringing the local unions of his own trade into line, in 1848; and he succeeded in organizing the Journeymen Steam Engine and Machine Makers and Millwright Friendly Society, with its headquarters at Manchester. It consisted of about 7,000 members distributed all over England, who possessed a common fund of £27,000. From that time on they slowly and progressively worked out their constitution. In 1850, the amalgamation of all engineering societies was completed under Newton's leadership, who had found in the person of William Allan¹⁶ an ardent friend and assistant in carrying out the ideas of what they called "The New Unionism."¹⁷

On January 6th, 1851, the government of the Amalgamated Engineers opened its offices at London. It consisted of an Executive Committee, elected by the local branches, which appointed Newton as general secretary, and controlled by October in the same year, 11,000 members, each paying one shilling per week for the common strike fund. At this stage, the employers began active persecutions, while the engineers picked up the courage to resist the nibbling away of the standard rate through a nefarious overtime system. I shall not enter upon a description of the hardships which befell the Amalgamation, but merely state that the engineers found

unexpected friends among the educating classes—the Christian Socialists, as they were sneeringly called, who rendered great assistance, not only by contributing to the strike fund, but by explaining the motives and purposes of the workingmen to the higher classes, who were, as they are now in America, prejudiced against the cause of labor by the bad philosophy of the century.

Meanwhile the Amalgamation had failed to provide its government with a salaried official staff, and its control over local branches and their negotiations with employees was not complete. The result was a failure in all large undertakings, and in 1892 a meeting of delegates was called at Leeds, which instituted a salaried staff of elected district delegates. To these were added eight representatives from as many election districts, who, together with the permanent salaried officials, formed a legislative assembly for the whole body. Thus the engineers combined in their supreme government the skill, knowledge and adroitness which can be acquired only and solely by long practical office work, with the fervor, zeal and fidelity of workingmen who are elected every year always fresh from the ranks. This legislative assembly appoints and controls continuously the paid general secretary and his staff of statisticians, bookkeepers, etc. The approximate number of members of the Amalgamated Engineers was in 1890, 68,000.

We now turn to the cotton operatives. They were prominent early in the century and obtained the Ten-Hour Act in 1847. After this they fell into a state of disorganization through their home rule notions. In the course of their manly struggle for the Ten-Hour Bill, they found the friendship of such great champions of tradeunionism as Thomas Hughes, Mundella, Lord Shaftesbury and Samuel Morley. This resulted, 1874, in the passage of the 56½ hour bill for cotton factories, and, after the various amalgamations had succeeded in the establishment of the nine-hour day.

Down to 1879 the cotton operatives consisted of ten districts, each of which had its own exchequer and acted independently. The great struggle of 1877-78 against a reduction of wages of 10 per cent., which affected 250,000 cotton

operatives, revealed the weakness of their organization. They were beaten within ten weeks. John Fielding, secretary of the Bolton Provincial Cotton Spinners' Association, wrote: "The result of not having a common treasury was that, when a strike occurred, some of the branches were at the point of bankruptcy, while others had sufficient funds for maintaining the struggle. They soon found out that their real fighting strength was gauged, not by the worth of their richest branch, but by the poorest. It was an exemplification of the law of mechanics, *that the strength of the chain is represented by its weakest link.*"

Since that time the cotton operatives have centralized their funds and government. The legislative power is now vested in a parliament, annually elected in proportion to membership, consisting of about 100 representatives, who meet quarterly at Manchester. This body is absolutely supreme. Its members receive no mandate from their constituents, but they keep in constant contact with their district associations. The Executive Council, elected by the representative meeting, forms the working government and consists of a president, treasurer and secretary, with thirteen members; six of these are the salaried officers of district organizations, and seven are working spinners, coming at each election fresh from the factories. This parliament likewise appoints the General Secretary, who is elected by and responsible to the main body. He has the right, however, of engaging his staff himself. The staff officers are obliged to pass a civil service examination. Messrs. Sidney and Beatrice Webb say:¹⁸ "We attribute the efficiency of this remarkable constitution to the existence of the adequate highly trained, and relatively well-paid and permanent Civil Service." (Ten permanent officials to 19,000 members.)

The general policy of the parliament is determined by so-called party meetings of the different sections which correspond to the American caucus. The Oldham Provincial Association has made express provisions for the caucus in the Rules of 1891. In important cases, the representatives of the districts are to meet seven days before the Amalgamation meeting, to agree on a common policy in the cotton ope-

ratives' parliament. (The representatives thus meeting in caucus are paid in accordance with the scale allowed to the Provincial Executive Council.)

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain was established 1887, after the usual unpleasant experiences with home rule and its appendages. The supreme authority is vested in a conference, composed of 50 to 70 members, which controls all affairs and consists of representatives elected by the district associations. The sessions are held annually, in some midland town, and they appoint a permanent executive committee to supervise the General Secretary, who receives his commission from the main body. He also appoints his own staff. It is notable that the Miners' parliament excludes the press and the public from its deliberations. A conference is convoked on all particular occasions or whenever a new departure in the general policy of the Federation is proposed. The present membership numbers over two hundred thousand workingmen.

Other organizations which have been completed under similar circumstances are the Boot and Shoe Operatives, 37,000 members; Society of Engineers, 87,000; Typographical Association, 3,000. There is no gainsaying the truth, beautifully expressed by Webb,¹⁹ in the following words: "Those trade-unions which have most completely recognized that *centralization of finance implies, in a militant organization, centralization of administration*, have proved most efficient and therefore most stable. Whenever funds have been centralized, and power nevertheless left to local authorities, the result has been weakness, divided counsel, and financial disaster."

THE GREAT MODEL OF EUROPEAN TRADEUNIONISM.

Comparing the constitutions of the above described English trade organizations and the German Printers' Guild (see Book III.) with the Constitution of the United States, we find a strong resemblance in their outward forms. In fact, it would almost seem as if the industrial democracies which organized the prominent trade governments of our days had intentionally copied the Constitution of the great political

democracy drafted by the American Federalist Fathers in 1789. But there is no sign of imitation or official intercourse in the history of tradeunionism to justify the supposition that perhaps the German printers had copied the American Constitution, or that the English engineers, cotton spinners, miners, etc., had imitated each other or even that all had followed the model of the United States.

No, in each case the workingmen have slowly and with deep-seated aversion given up their primitive notions of democracy and accepted representative institutions as a dire necessity which was most repugnant to them. Even so had the Constitution of the United States "itself had been extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant people," as John Quincy Adams declares in his discourse on this instrument.*

The fundamental laws of the most reputed European trade-unions are made like those of the United States by constitutional assemblies which are composed of representatives of geographical districts, sized according to population. These corporations have supreme power and there is no appeal from

*Dr. Franklin's heart-moving speech to the dissenting delegates of the Constitutional Convention of 1789, at Philadelphia, conveys more than anything else the ill-feeling and reluctance of the delegates against the Constitution of the United States: "Mr. President, the small progress we have made after four or five weeks of close attendance and continual reasonings with each other—our different sentiments on almost every question—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfections of human understanding. We seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. . . . In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understandings?"—Elliot, *Debates*, V., 254.

A man by the name of Nason spoke thus in the Massachusetts Legislature against the Constitution of the United States: "And here, sir, I beg the indulgence of this honorable body to permit me to make a short apostrophe to liberty. O liberty! thou greatest good! thou fairest property! with thee I wish to live—with thee I wish to die! Pardon me, if I drop a tear on the peril to which she is exposed. I cannot, sir, see the brightest of jewels tarnished—a jewel worth ten thousand worlds; and shall we part with it so soon?"

their decisions. They direct the general policy of their communities, institute permanent governments and determine their methods of treating public questions. The constitutional assemblies of European trades meet at regular intervals, or whenever the public welfare requires it, wherein they differ from American constitutional conventions, which meet only when particular exigencies require it. For this reason, I suppose, the President of the United States is endowed with the sovereign power, in case of need, even to suspend the act of habeas corpus, and to do everything which may seem necessary for the common defence.

The constitutional assemblies of the leading European tradeunions, which appear under different names, such as Parliament, Conference, High Commission, etc., appoint the administration and fix its salary as well as tenure of office. They do so, because they found "that it was desirable that the sense of the people should operate in the choice of the person to whom so important a trust was to be confided," as Alexander Hamilton said when he explained to his constituents the utility of the Electoral College.²⁰ So we find that the European industrial democrats have combined the functions of the American constitutional conventions with those of the Electoral College. They have preferred a live body of plenipotentiary representatives to a canonized document, like our Constitution; and have invested their parliaments, not only with the power to institute a common government, but also with the privilege to appoint the administration and to tell the highest functionary what he is to do. Therefore, the will of the people is a strong power in the modern trade democracies; whereas it is nothing but a time-honored fiction in our false democracy, with its primaries and conventions.

The next highest authority of tradeunionism, which is permanently in session, is a small legislative assembly, variously called the executive council, executive committee, etc. It is composed of delegates from the district organizations, corresponding to the American Senate, and of popular representatives. The former are supposed to bring with them the necessary governmental experience; the latter, being re-elected at short intervals, are to imbue the deliberations of this assembly

with the sentiments of the workshops; this element is usually kept in the majority. Their functions are subject to the limitations of the constitutional assembly, just as those of our Congress are supposed to be limited by our written Constitution. Their main duty is to carry out the policy indicated by the constitutional assembly, to draft by-laws for subordinate unions; to settle difficulties among the branches and above all to control the official staff.

It will be seen that, although this legislative assembly has supervising powers over the executive officer and his cabinet, it cannot impair his independence, as he is appointed and salaried by the constitutional assembly. Nor can the cabinet avoid the criticism of the legislative assembly, as the members of this supervisory body are elected and paid by the district governments.

The head of the administration, the General Secretary, is appointed by the main body, usually for life or during good behavior. He selects his cabinet, which does the real work connected with the government. All officials have to pass a civil service examination.

Thus, the plain workingmen of Europe have solved the problem of how to establish strong and efficient governments under strict control of their constituencies. The industrial and political democrats of America, on the other hand, being benighted by the fallacies of false democracy, look upon this problem as a schoolboy does upon the geometrical problem of a sophomore. Good government is considered by many Americans a thing devoutly to be wished, but, alas! beyond the reach of democratic mortals.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION FOR AMERICAN LABOR.

After this long, but, I hope, never tedious elucidation of the most prominent existing economic and political organizations, I am prepared to shortly answer the letters which I have received from workingmen asking for advice on the question of reorganization.

Hold fast to the constitutional ideas of organization and representation. Let your highest trade bodies divide the coun-

try, in say ten or twelve geographical districts to correspond to the limits of a convenient number of States. Let each district elect so many representatives as it would Presidential electors. Let these bodies set up district governments; then send, say, half of the whole number of representatives so elected to the seat of the trade government and give them power to act, as if they were a constitutional assembly and an electoral commission at the same time. Endow this body with absolute power to promulgate constitutional by-laws and price lists to suit every branch of industry. Let them set up a government on the plan of the American Federalist Fathers: A congress composed of twice as many popular representatives as there are representatives of the district governments. If you make twelve districts, then six senators and twelve representatives will do. Their powers and limitation may be adjusted to the needs of the trades, which are different in almost every industry.

Let the constitutional assembly and electoral college, meeting in times of peace perhaps every four years, in times of strikes permanently, appoint the permanent president, who is to set up an efficient administration and to do everything which our political administration does: Arrange for tax collection, statistics pertaining to labor and immigration, etc.; above all, give this commission authority to set up courts of justice, to interpret their constitution and to settle all trade difficulties in an orderly and American manner. These courts ought to be in all centers of the organized industries, and judges duly elected by recognized employers' associations should be admitted to coöperate with the tradeunion officials in the dispensation of trade justice.

Then, I tell you, the employers will come and treat with you for peace and justice.

FRONT THE POLITICIANS.

The reorganized American tradeunion would neglect the vital conditions of the wageworkers' well-being, if it were to confine itself to their attorneyships in the matter of concluding covenants with their employers. The laboring classes require legal enactments to provide for sanitation and safety in working places and for protection of women and children when at work in factories, etc. Unskilled labor needs the political assistance of the skilled trades, in order to secure a national minimum of wages. The latter again cannot, without the help of the former, even pave the way to legal action against such parasitic industries as exist on starvation wages to the detriment of the whole community. Moreover, it is for the tradeunion to guard the interests of settled laborers in the common school systems and those establishments which provide their municipalities with transportation, roads, water and light. In short, the tradeunion cannot avoid politics.

Exceeding everything is the urgent need of a national system of laws which respects the plain man's sense of justice. The high courts have ruled that an injunction is a "due process of law," in the sense of the Constitution, wherever the law of the land is deficient. It is styled "equity" when judges restrain tradeunion leaders intent on counteracting employers who manipulate the "natural law" of the supply of labor to their private benefit and to the lasting injury of the laboring men's homes and municipalities. Employers can "in equity" bring carloads of strangers into any town with the clear intent to pauperize the domiciled population without being responsible for the consequences of their acts. Indeed, *American tradeunionism is at bay*. "Doth our law judge any man, before it hear him and know what he doeth?"²² so the plain men ask; and we hear an outcry of illiterate workingmen over Supreme Court decisions and injunctions, which is as ominous as the wail of the downtrodden over the Dred Scott decision of Chief Justice Taney, in 1856.*

* Dred Scott was a slave born in Missouri. His master, Dr. Emerson, took him North in 1834 and returned with him, his wife and chil-

It is an expression of the anguish of plain men whose inner sense of justice has been hurt by a relentless power. They know and care nothing about erudite legal principles and elaborate arguments on constitutional law, but they feel the mental pain of men whose better self has been violated in the name of the law, and who lose their balance because the legal bottom under their feet is being dissolved into the stifling dust of legal quibbles. Before their eyes is the choice between submission to the unseen powers that nibble their wages away, or to the military force of the United States.

In the face of such alarming conditions we have tradeunionists in prominent positions who do not tire to declare that the organizations of labor must for the sake of their life leave politics alone. They propagate by speeches and newspapers a very convenient philosophy which makes political apathy appear like a tradeunion virtue. But this is the philosophy of cowardice, intended to put a thin drapery of reason on naked selfishness. Forsooth, the tradeunion that shirks the imminent struggle of labor for "equity" which is equity, may thereby save its little home rule happiness and the sweet plums that politicians are wont to throw into the mouths of labor jingoes! So may the deserter on the eve of battle save his life,

dren, who were born in free States, to Missouri in 1838, where he sold the whole family to a New Yorker, by name of Sandford. Dred Scott, thinking that the free State had made him free, sued Sandford for release in a St. Louis court, which decided in his favor. The Missouri Court of Appeals reversed the judgment. Meanwhile another suit for damages was entered, 1853, in the United States Circuit Court, which decided that Dred Scott could not claim his liberty. The case was then taken to the Supreme Court, and Chief Justice Taney also decided that Scott could not have his liberty.

This decision, though legally correct, was morally wrong and created a great excitement in the United States. John Norton Pomeroy, an authority on Constitutional Law, writes as follows:¹¹ "The substantial portion of this judgment has rendered the Dred Scott case a byword and a hissing. . . . It shook the confidence of the country in the Supreme Court as the ultimate and authoritative interpreter of the Constitution, and in one day undid the good work which a steady devotion for more than sixty years to the cause of nationality had accomplished."

and when nicely tucked in his warm bed at home he will certainly also think out a good philosophy of cowardice to cover his shame! Indeed, there are soldiers ready to strengthen arguments of this kind with self-mutilation.

Let me tell you, workingmen, these complacent spokesmen of your cause, who are leaders from behind, like frightened drivers of runaway horses, cannot forestall the rejuvenation of our law through the spirit of solidarity. The same God who inclined his ear to the downtrodden of Chief Justice Taney's time will hear the outcry of the laborers of 1900. "I know that the Lord will maintain the cause of the afflicted."²³ There is no peace for the tradeunion without a struggle for the rights of labor with those powers which explain the fundamental laws of our country. The irritability of the sense of justice in plain workingmen is all the greater, the better they do their work and the fuller they perform their duties. Each personal injury incites their resentment and a violation of their sense of justice by those who are to administer justice, even if in accordance with the written law, impels the Christian Fourth Estate to warlike resistance, because they are no longer Pariahs in mind and rank. No other cause on earth can so thoroughly transform meek and mild men to be daring and strong and often as cruel as tigers. They will fight and sacrifice everything commonly dear to our kind and nothing can appease them, until their own dim thoughts of what is right and wrong are incorporated into the written law of the land.

It behooves the tradeunions to shake off their lethargic dreams and to take up the gauntlet thrown at the feet of labor. It is within their power to organize the wageworkers so that they can stop the modern attempts of American high courts to superpose the foreign law of false democracy on the constitutional law of George Washington's true democracy. It is the most sacred duty of tradeunionists to step into the political arena for the purpose of preserving inviolate our time-honored common law, which derives its force from the usages of the common people. The organization of labor which deliberately resolves to confine itself to the present guerilla warfare between employers and employed, is out of date and should commit self-immolation on the altar of the cause of labor, in

order to arise like a Phenix from its ashes in a rejuvenated form, capable of fronting capital and government at the same time. The labor leader who knows nothing better than to marshal his union in a successful strike against an isolated employer in an exposed position must go forever, and make room for the national negotiator between capital and labor, and between labor and the ruling powers of the country. The sacrifices and hardships of this transformation, as well as of the consequent struggle for the fundamental conditions of the laboring man's well-being, will prove the greatest blessing from Above. But indolence will be the death warrant of the tradeunion; and those labor leaders who counsel inaction will be its masked executioners.

Is there any union man with common sense in our country who would seriously argue that his small and individualized local union, or even his loose federation without unity of government and funds, could cope with a national trust, as it did with the individual employer? Or would true union men descend to set the law on trusts, claiming for themselves immunity? Let me tell those passionate laborers who clamor for union wages and competitive prices in one breath, there is no better bulwark against the abuse of the power which the union principle may bestow on employers than strong organizations of manual workers capable of fronting trusts and politicians.

Is there any thoughtful mechanic who would maintain that labor facing capital by unions, should confront politicians as individuals? Who except enthusiasts and bigoted socialists could think of uniting the laboring men, whose minds are distracted by friend and foe, into one party, to cope with both opposing political parties at the same time? Is there any socialist ready to deny that if the State should some fine day sequester all the property of the trusts, there ought not to be organized national trade governments to continue the business of the trusts on the common account?

The time is past for labor to rally as a third party, because the very system of organizing the voters by parties, in order to give expression to their will, is rotten to the core. How can the bad principles of false democracy bring forth a relia-

ble political organization? A daring junta with a big clique can bluff honest delegates in large conventions. The most disreputable men can manipulate the proceedings of ward clubs and primary meetings. The power to nominate candidates, which is far greater than that of millions of votes, can be grabbed by any daring criminal or any combine of unscrupulous men. Who will say that this is a good condition? Or that the liberty of the people is endangered if Tom and Dick, Fritz and Mac, are prevented from seizing the nominating privilege and dividing the patronage of a city like New York among their noise-makers in popular convention? There are men within the ranks of organized labor who have the gift of diplomacy and the knowledge of statesmanship. Let the union of the twentieth century be a living platform on which the strongest of your class stand to plead your cause with the emphasis of men who know that the political power of millions of voters is behind them. Abolish forever the method of false democracy, first to make platforms on paper, in order to inflame the minds of the people with poison mostly drawn from exotic plants, to drift to the capitol with a wave of popular passion and then to disappoint the extravagant hopes of their fickle constituencies. Let the embodiment of your unions be your only platform; and let your local unions be your only planks, clean and free from the variegated varnish of the "isms" of the past century. Theories on social issues will distract your minds and set the elements of your power at variance. You have but one end of your political endeavors, namely, to weld the labor vote until it is like a wedge of steel that can be driven in the rotten timber on which the modern parties float hither and thither with the tide of public opinion.

THE TRULY DEMOCRATIC METHOD.

To this end let each tradeunion and grange assume the functions of the political ward clubs and allow neither rich nor poor idlers within its doors. Elect Congressional District Nominating Conventions from the ranks, consisting of two representatives of each craft and organized profession. Appoint permanent Executive Committees with officers.

Let these District Conventions elect from their ranks State Nominating Conventions, with permanent headquarters and officers at the State capitols. From the State Nominating Conventions must be drawn a National Nominating Convention, which is to be a live Electoral Commission behind the one which was created by the Federalist Fathers and paralyzed by false democracy. At the head place a Permanent Executive Committee with an official staff, located at Washington, and doing all the time what the national party committees do before every Presidential election.

Do not hamper the heads of this embodiment of your political power with any programmes. The presidents and secretaries of your nominating conventions have nothing else to do but to pave the way for your legal representatives to get into the capitols which are the proper places wherein to ventilate and explain the ideals of labor on social justice. The closed political organization, of which the local tradeunions are the units, must be marshaled by men who can face the political powers of the country as plenipotentiaries of the laboring classes, not embarrassed with hindrances and limitations, just like the heads of the trade bodies confronting capitalists.

In order to give weight to the utterances of your chosen leaders, you must grant them perfect freedom of action, and make it a misdemeanor for any union man or any local union to enter into any private political bargains. Did you not find it necessary for the safety of the whole class of laborers to abolish the liberty of the individual workingmen, to conclude private bargains with employers? Thus abolish the liberty of your members to run with every political mountebank and leave the cause of labor to the mercies of the politicians. Do all those things which are needed to prevent the scattering of the political power of the laboring class. When approaching your State with the demand of recognition of your rights, you need every particle of that strength which lies in unity far more than you do when you ask your employers for better terms. Fear not to take steps which the labor jingo and the home rule boss will vociferously denounce as dreadful tyranny. I think you are by this time accustomed to the gentle concern of capital-

ists and politicians for the liberty of the poor men. Indeed, the political bosses of every town and State will join the mourning hymn of the employers over your loss of that liberty on which they all feed. But let me tell you, the unseen and intelligent powers of our nation which stand observingly behind the maze of primaries, platforms and conventions, will treat with you and ask for your friendship. For all good elements of society hate the political ward club with its out-growths and will soon comprehend that geographical division lines cannot create popular units, but that the organizations of those citizens whose welfare is connected with the moral and business interests of the nation are the natural units from which all governmental power must come.

THIRD BOOK.

A PLEA TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION,

TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE, TO INSURE DOMESTIC
TRANQUILLITY, AND TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL
WELFARE OF THE PRINTERS OF THE UNITED
STATES.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

In regard to the terminology used in writing about journeymen's and employers' tradeunions, which are springing up abundantly in Europe, I beg permission to revive the beautiful Anglo-Saxon word "Guild," designating an association of the young and old members of a craft to promote their moral and material welfare. The words combines, combinations, or centralizations, etc., have an unpleasant savor, and I must confess that, while I would gladly become a guild-printer, I would object to be called a "Typothetaeist," which barbarous dissonance of Greek words and English sounds has been selected by the American master-printers as a name for their association. Furthermore, where there is a government, there are rebels; where churches, there dissenters, where guilds, there are—what? The drastic Anglo-Saxon expressions "rats," "black-legs," "knob-sticks," etc., have reference only to laborers, and it would be very impolite to apply these terms to employers. I shall therefore borrow from church history the genteel appellation "Non-Conformists," meaning employers and employees who refuse to conform to the usages considered right and meet by the masters and journeymen united in the form of the ancient guild.

I.—THE GERMAN PRINTERS' GUILD.

ITS CONSTITUTION COMPARED WITH THAT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE eminent and well-known writers on tradeunionism, Prof. Luju Brentano and Sidney and Beatrice Webb, have pointed out in several instances that the constitutions of the most successful European tradeunions closely resemble that of the United States. Of late, the German master and journeyman printers, tired of their everlasting class feuds, have also established an efficient trade government which is constructed like the United States Government. Disregarding all perplexing modern theories on the social question, they have organized, on the broadest democratic foundation, a

common trade government to enact, enforce and interpret a system of common rules, binding masters, journeymen and apprentices likewise. Whether they have acted consciously or unconsciously under the spirit of the American fathers of true democracy is a question which I cannot answer. Certain it is that they have succeeded in establishing peace and prosperity in their trade through this interesting organization; and I believe that Americans will learn with great pleasure how the German printers have utilized the principles of the Constitution of the United States in order to overcome the antagonisms of industrial life in their monarchical country.

For the enactment of common rules, the German printers have established a Legislative Assembly like the American Congress. The workingmen's delegation corresponds to the House of Representatives. The words of the Federalist Fathers, explaining the plan of the American Constitution, may serve to the same purpose for the present trade organization. Hamilton says:¹ "The House of Representatives should be acquainted with the general genius, habit and modes of thinking of the people at large." Madison says:² "It is particularly essential that the branch under consideration (the popular) should have immediate dependence on and intimate sympathy with the people." And the German employing printers declare: Let the journeymen meet the employers on common grounds, to express the thoughts of their class in a parliamentary way and to preserve the sympathy of the trade for their common government.

The employers' delegation in the Legislative Assembly corresponds to the American Senate. Their constituency is far less numerous, yet their weight in the Common Government of the Trade is equal to that of the journeymen. Madison explains: "Representation relates more immediately to persons," and "one branch (the Senate) is intended more especially to be the guardian of property."³ This is "an institution necessary as a defence to the people against their own temporary errors and delusions," and "will blend stability with liberty."⁴

For the enforcement of the Common Rules enacted by the Legislative Assembly, the German printers have a general

office like the American Administration. Of course, there cannot be a president at the head of an economic body representing two classes with as many contrary as common interests. So the printers have an administration composed of three employers and three journeymen, who appoint a responsible and salaried cabinet to do the work of the organization. If we imagine the American Electoral College to be a permanent executive body, really appointing the President and his staff as a paid civil service, subject to the will of the Electoral College—then we have the German Guild Administration. No one can read Alexander Hamilton's articles on the Electoral College⁵ without coming to the conclusion that the German plan carries out the fundamental American ideas on government far better than the modern politicians, who glory in having set aside all the good there is in the Electoral College, and substituted for that all the bad features which accompany each Presidential election and the existence of an irresponsible cabinet.

For the interpretation of their Common Rules the German printers have a judiciary department, which is similar to that of the United States, appointed by the administration. What Hamilton says⁶ of the Supreme Court, holds true of the German Trade Courts: "They are the citadel of public justice and public security;" "The Courts must declare the sense of law;" "They are to exercise judgment and not will," and must "guard the constitution and the rights of individuals from the effects of those ill humors which the arts of designing men . . . disseminate among the people themselves."

Thus, we see that the German printers have fully adopted the salient feature of the American Constitution, namely, that it provides for one efficient government in three functions. The sovereign power which the trade possesses over the customs and usages of its followers is wielded by three departments, to each of which is assigned a distinct function, while between the different functions there is such a strong tie of mutual support that no department can exist without the other. In this tri-partition and union of the power of the whole community rests its safety against

abuse. Let Americans thank God for their Constitution, which allows antiquated laws and customs to pass out of doors without resistance and new ideas to enter without revolution or violence. Let them also thank the German printers for showing the world of industry how the spirit of the American Fathers can be made as reliable a regulator of trade life as it proved to be of our national life.

Of course, there are many American employers who will incredulously smile at the unheard-of departure of the German master printers from the cherished doctrines of orthodox economy. But, I hope, for the sake of Old Glory, that there is none in our trade—no, in our beloved country—who will gainsay that our canonized Constitution has the quality within itself to secure the blessings of liberty and peace to estates as well as to States.

Now, let American printers resolve to form a “more perfect union” than their present separate journeymen’s and employers’ union; let them establish justice in their workshops; maintain tranquillity among themselves; provide for their common defence against unfair competition; promote the general welfare of apprentices, journeymen and masters and secure industrial liberty to themselves and posterity. Let the intelligent body of American printers abolish with one stroke the bosses’ one-man rule, and the tradeunion’s class rule, by substituting for these evils of our times a Common Rule, under which all can live and prosper. Then the spirit of the Fathers will be with them evermore, and perhaps even redeem their State governments from the corruption of individualism.

HISTORICAL REMARKS.

The first attempts of German master printers to unite themselves with their journeymen, in order to establish a Common Trade Administration, were made at Breslau in 1848, and at Leipzig in 1852. The rules of these years, being drawn up by the masters, were only partially and reluctantly adopted by their organized journeymen. In 1869 the Leipsic employers established a Common Trade Court, to consist of nine masters and nine journeymen. This body

resolved itself, in 1870, into a Legislative Assembly, entitled to draw up a Common Scale for the whole German Empire. The journeymen's union protested, and a series of bitter strikes followed with the end of securing organized labor an equal voice with the masters in the formation of union labor contracts.

After serious losses, masters as well as journeymen came to the conclusion that temporary success in more or less costly strikes would never secure the lasting interests of the trade. So each body appointed ten delegates, who met in 1873, and who agreed on a Common Scale based on acceptable minimal wages and on a normal day of ten hours. They also provided for a Legislative Assembly, to consist of twelve masters and of twelve journeymen, and established Common Trade Courts in each of the twelve districts of the empire.

Apparently this arrangement was based on equality of masters and journeymen; but the employers were not yet inclined to lend their powerful aid to the introduction of the Common Scale. The journeymen alone had to bear the cost of strikes, and at one time they complained of a debt of 25,000 marks spent in support of the victims of the strikes in favor of the Common Scale. In 1878, the masters even abolished the Trade Courts, which had so far proved to be the only reliable means of extending the Common Scale and of protecting the journeymen against intimidation by foremen or employers when they had cause to complain of wrongs. Discontent, of course, bred strikes, and there was no end to the experimenting with the institutions of the Guild. Changes were made in 1883, 1886, 1888 and 1891; until, finally, the journeymen seceded on the allegation that the employers had attempted to rid themselves of their Guild journeymen, in order to lower the scale. A strike broke out during November, 1891, and 12,000 journeymen stopped work for ten weeks. After they had spent 20,000 marks they capitulated on the terms of the old Common Scale, but refused to send delegates to the Legislative Assembly, although the employer's union publicly declared their adhesion to the Guild.

A period of general decay in the printing trades followed,

during which the journeymen suffered far more than the masters. By 1894 there were 5,000 apprentices more than the old Common Scale allowed; many printers worked even $10\frac{1}{2}$ to 13 hours per day, and wages fell, while the competition among the employers ran amuck.

Things grew from bad to worse, until in the spring of 1896, the stubbornness of the masters and of the journeymen gave way to common sense—that is, to the sense for their common weal. Both organizations elected delegates who were to meet on April 15, 1896, and admitted even representatives of the unorganized printers. This body agreed on a reasonable raise of the minimal scale and on the establishment of a nine-hour normal day. The Legislative Assembly consisted of nine masters and of nine journeymen, elected by 23,032 printers, divided into nine districts. The constitution drafted by this body, which will be described next, was ratified in July, 1896, by forty-five delegates of the Journeymen's National Union with twenty-two dissenting votes. The Employers' Union declared, by public resolution, that the recognition of the Common Scale would be a common duty. The opposing twenty-two journeymen votes represent that class of workingmen who habitually prefer discord to peace; and the nonconformist masters are those who believe in strict individualism either from pride or for the sake of personal gain. Both have done all they could to obstruct the growth of the Guild; but although the Guild masters and journeymen during the past twenty-five years often erred in searching for their right way, yet they did not miss their goal. For, ever since 1878, they clung steadfastly, under all vicissitudes of constitutional organization, to the beautiful inscription which adorns the first page of their present successful Common Scale:

"This Tariff is an expression of what master and journeymen printers consider right and meet in the printing trades of the German Empire."

The first forty sections of the Common Scale enumerate the prices for composition and piecework, fix the time of labor and the rules on apprentices and dismissals. The striking feature of this section is the spirit of justice which dic-

tated the intricate clauses of the piecework list. There are no "war rules," as is the case with most American scales. The journeymen, protected by their Common Trade Courts, need not insist on measures which are wrong in themselves, but justifiable as measures of protection against inimical employers. A piece hand, for example, put on timework, is paid according to his average earnings when setting by the piece; employers must pay piece hands for lost time according to the same rate; there are no rules as to the number of presses a pressman is to attend to, but he cannot be held responsible for his work if ordered away from his press while it is running. Employees must make up for lost time, if required. Minimal wages are 21 marks per week; the General Scale Office, however, may lower the minimum to 18 marks in places with less than 6,000 inhabitants, if it is desired by an equal number of employers and journeymen. For large cities there is a statutory addition varying from five to twenty-five per cent.; for example, Berlin and Hamburg pay twenty-five per cent.; Bremen and Hanover, fifteen per cent.; Gotha and Heilbronn five per cent. more than the above minimum, etc. Two weeks' warning is necessary to terminate employment, but not where substitutes are engaged for less than four weeks. Apprentices are admitted in the composing room in the proportion of 1 to 3 and 6 to 30 journeymen; in the pressroom of 1 to 2 and 5 to 20 pressmen, etc.

THE CONSTITUTION.

The Legislative Assembly is the supreme authority in all matters of trade rules and trade policy. This body consists of nine masters and of nine journeymen, coming from each of the nine districts of the Empire. Only such employers as have recognized the Common Scale in writing, and only such journeymen as are either employed in Guild offices or members of friendly tradeunions are qualified voters. One-third of the Assembly retires every year. Resolutions are formed by simple majority, but there must be at least three masters and three journeymen votes to be legal.

On the whole, this is strictly a body of legislation or contract-making between labor and capital, and not a court of arbitration.

The General Office is the highest authority of Common Scale interpretation, arbitration and conciliation. It consists of three masters and of three journeymen, two of whom must live in the city where the General Office is located. The Legislative Assembly selects the members of the office, and every third year another location in order to prevent the growth of local influences. Besides acting as the high court of appeal for the whole Empire, the General Office carries out all resolutions of the Legislative Assembly, keeps correct lists of all Guild members from employers down to apprentices, and is the central labor bureau, especially taking care of victims of common strikes.

Of course, the General Office is mainly an office of peace. The general secretary, a paid officer, who must pass a civil service examination, mediates long before strikes are ordered. During 1897, the office was obliged to fall back on "the last resort" in the cases of only 53 obstinate employers and about 500 journeymen. The following figures give a good idea of the scope of work performed by this institution: In 1896, the Common Scale was recognized by 895 firms in 265 cities; in 1897, by 1,631 firms in 469 places; in 1898, by 2,130 firms in 647 places, and at present there are 2,100 firms registered in 670 places; besides, more than 500 firms are paying the scale, although not regularly registered. This grand work could be done because the General Office is endowed not only with authority, but also with power to strike. Common Trade Courts have been established in all but two printing centers. The expenses of this office are borne by masters and journeymen, share and share alike.

The Common Trade Courts, composed of two masters, two journeymen and a permanent paid secretary, are located in every printing center. They examine all complaints for violation of the Common Scale, decide cases and give their opinion on doubtful points.

The Berlin office was called upon, in one year, to act in 100 cases. Of these, seven took the form of official opin-

ions; forty-four complaints were decided in favor of journeymen; six in favor of employers; eight went on appeal to the General Office; six were decided partly for employers and partly for journeymen; four were decisions on principles; seven cases were dismissed for "no cause," and sixteen were settled without a verdict. The expenses were borne by the defeated parties.

Although it is not always possible to arrive at decisions perfectly free from local or personal influences, it cannot be denied that the Common Trade Courts have a wonderful influence on the pacification of the spirit of employers and journeymen, and the extension of the Guild. No employer can evade its clauses of the Common Scale; there is no intimidation to hush irregularities. Every boy or laborer can without fear bring his complaints. The self-selected courts protect him as well as the employer. A judgment for breach of contract or for spoiled work against a journeyman (which is nothing in America) can be enforced by the German Guild. No workingman can afford to break the Common Rule, and the time is near that no employer can violate the scale without ruining himself.

So far fifty-five Labor Bureaus have been opened in thirty-eight places. Their main object at present is to provide employment for journeymen who are thrown out of work on account of their loyalty to the Common Scale; and to balance the demand and supply of good and well-apprenticed labor. From July, 1897, until May 1, 1898, these officers disposed of 223 cases of striking Guild printers.

GENERAL REMARKS.

Mr. Geo. Büxenstein, a leading printer in the City of Berlin, writes as follows on the practical working of the Guild during four years:

We are aware that our Common Scale and Guild institutions are still open to improvement, and consequently, that there may be occasional discontent among the members of the Guild. But it can safely be said that masters and journeymen are alike intent on strengthening and working out their insti-

tutions; and that in regard to the main question there are no differences of opinion among the leading members of the trade.

Whether or not the Guild with its Common Scale will eventually improve the prices of printed matter, and therewith the general condition of the trade, is a question which can conscientiously be answered with a decided "Yes." Of course, it is impossible to prove this assertion by figures; but it can safely be assumed, that the more generally the Common Scale is recognized the greater is the prospect of eliminating that unhealthy competition which damages all members of the trade and disintegrates every principle of business order and business honor. But it will require time and perseverance to draw in all the opponents of a standard rule in both camps, and to accustom them to regulated conditions.

In view of the above sketch, it can be asserted that in the printing trade of the German Empire perfect equality of masters and of journeymen has been established, and that there is no other trade enjoying similar institutions. We deem equality in the formation of union contracts necessary and timely, considering it as the means of peaceable, collective bargaining, and of preventing discord and disintegration. We do not believe that brute force will again get the upper hand in the printing trades, but that all concerned will allow law and justice to sway through parliamentary methods.

The printing trades have passed through periods of serious trial. They were in a most distracted state, and continual strife created conditions which were untenable for any length of time. As different as the former arbitrary wages were the prices for which employers took work. Competition was made unbearable by herds of boys admitted by some employers, who in their turn again, being glad to find employment at any price, reduced the wages of good journeymen, and finally, in truth, the prices of all typographical products.

But we have taken our experiences to heart and we are endeavoring to adapt ourselves to the changed social conditions of the present, by improving our methods of collective bargaining valid for the whole trade. Now and forever we hope to see the German printers work under the motto: "Friede

ernährt, Unfriede verzehrt" ("Peace enriches, discord impoverishes").

Finally I desire to state that, personally, I am a zealous representative and disciple of the economic ideas underlying the Common Scale, and that the results of its introduction in my establishment are most encouraging. The Common Scale is for me and my employees a law which cannot be evaded by any means, and under this strict conformity to our common law there is no room for discord. Indeed, it is possible to live in peace even with such a large number of employees as I have in my printing establishment (about two hundred compositors and pressmen, with four web and forty cylinder presses, five of which are of American make). From the extent of my own plant you can judge that I am competent to express a valid opinion on the effects of our Guild institutions, and I am convinced that my colleagues will fully agree with me in every statement on the subject.

LIMITATION OF APPRENTICES BY THE GERMAN PRINTERS' GUILD.

One of the favorite claims made against organized workmen is that they tend to deprive the youth of the land from learning trades. Anyone disposed to be candid will on investigation find that the limitation of apprentices which the trade-unions aim to enforce is in no way a tyrannical effort of a would-be close corporation, but a move to give justice to the learner and to conserve the best interests of the trade. The union has nothing to fear from honest apprenticeship and thorough instruction, but it puts a barrier in the way of the dishonest hire of boys by employers who would debauch the trade. With that unerring view to first causes characteristic of our German fellow-craftsmen this matter is worked out by them in a new and businesslike way—by a notification each year, about Easter-time, to parents and guardians. This notice is signed by the chairman of the employers, and by the chairman of the journeymen and reads as follows:

To the Parents and Guardians: The time approaches when boys leaving school are to learn trades yielding them incomes large enough for their own support and enabling them in

future years to build up a home and to fulfill their duties toward their families and society. To this end, it is your imperative duty to put your boy under the care of such establishments as have the means of proper instruction, and where the character of the workshop in which the boy is to serve his time is in itself a recommendation for his future journeymanship. The former can be expected where the number of apprentices is in proper relation to that of the journeymen; and the latter where the employers are men of character and ability to instruct him. In workshops where the majority are apprentices, it is merely the object to teach apprentices minor manipulations so that a large profit is quickly made on their labor force, and the boys are then dismissed as unhappy botchers, thus being thrown into the world as outlawed persons, incapable of finding employment to earn their livelihood.

In order to resist such a reprehensible course, nearly all the German master and journeymen printers have formed a union and resolved that in future only such journeymen shall be employed as have served their time in printing offices which have recognized the Common Scale, in writing, on file at the office of the Guild; and where the number of apprentices corresponds to the order of the above-mentioned Common Scale.

It is therefore the paramount duty of parents and guardians desiring to put their boys in the printing trades, to ascertain whether or not the selected master printer has recognized the Common Scale. If they do not mind this, they most likely destroy all prospects of their wards ever getting employment in the German Empire. The officers of the Printers' Guild will see to it that this measure, against unfair competition by abuse of apprentices, is rigidly carried out, and parents and guardians are therefore warned to be careful with whom they apprentice their boys.

THE APPRENTICE SCHOOLS OF THE GERMAN PRINTERS' GUILD.

The German people cling tenaciously to the apprenticeship system with all its limitations; and in order to overcome the difficulties arising from the development of modern industry,

they compel all youngsters to visit their evening trade schools. These admirable institutions do not supplant, but they supplement the training which the young men receive in their workshops. Therefore, they teach the theory of the mechanical arts and leave the practice thereof to the workshop.

The German trade schools do not depend on private enterprise. They are official institutions ranking with the common schools. Wherever there is industry, there are schools adapted to the wants of the trades domiciled there and then. Every boy engaged in industry in any hamlet or large city must take lessons. The common school buildings are opened for this purpose, and every teacher must take his class. The trade associations of the district supervise the course of lessons, insist on regular attendance and provide for the instruction in the theory of their trades. In truth, the German trade school is the popular evening school, made interesting to parents and scholars by teaching things of practical value.

The Berlin Printers' Trade School, which I visited twice during the years of 1898 and 1899, for the purpose of studying the general system as well as the methods pursued by the teachers; is in the Common School building, No. 130 Niederwall street, and on Tuesday and Friday evenings 740 apprentices meet there, in 19 classes with 23 teachers; 13 of these are for compositors, 6 for pressmen. The city furnishes the building, light, heat and school utensils, the boys or their parents pay about six-tenths; the Printers' Guild and the city about four-tenths of the cash expenses. The compositors learn the German, French, English, Latin and Greek languages with a view fluently to read all kinds of manuscript. There are extra reading lessons of old manuscripts in all languages, sent there by the Guild for this purpose. Arithmetics are taught with typographical bodies, for example: Supposing your page to be 40 Long Primer long; and that you have 18 Pica, 14 Minion, 9 Small Pica lines, how many two point leads have you to spare for spacing?

Beside this, there is tuition in pure mechanics, natural philosophy, esthetics, as well as instruction in the relation of these sciences to the printing trades.

The center of attraction for me were the classes for the

"theory of the printing trade"—*Fachtheorie*, as they call it. I shall not in this place try to give an exposition of the whole system of the science of typography. But, I shall confine myself to give a complete sketch of the largest and most complete institution of this kind in Germany, which is in Leipzig. This was founded in 1869, discontinued in 1873 in consequence of a great strike and was reopened by the Printers' Guild in 1886 as a part of the Leipzig Common School System. By the year 1893 the institution had grown so powerful that it severed its connection with the municipal schools and operated independently, receiving a contribution of 4,500 marks per year from the Common Council of Leipzig. The school was given a large building with free light and heat.

The institution is now under the supervision of the School Committee of the Printers' Guild, composed of five employers and five journeymen. Apprentices of the Guild are obliged to visit the school three years and are at liberty to take a fourth year's course, which is free to all, and which is a kind of High School in the Art of Printing. Every year twenty-five graduates are selected to participate in a course in typographical drawing, under the auspices of the Royal Academy of Arts. For this purpose 500 marks are regularly set aside. The staff consists of fifteen instructors in sciences, two in drawing, eleven in composition and two in pressmanship. The students are divided into ten compositors' and five pressman's classes. The following is their curriculum:

COMPOSITORS. Class IV.—First year, six hours per week. Grammar, 2; Latin, 2; French, 1; Arithmetic and Drawing, 1 each.

Class III.—Second year, eight hours per week. Same as above and an addition of two hours per week in the Theory of Printing.

Class II.—Third year, eight hours per week. Grammar, 1; French, 1; Arithmetic, 1; Drawing, 2; Theory of Printing, 2. (Showing an increase in drawing and a decrease in languages.)

Class I.—Fourth year, five hours per week. Greek, Hebrew and Russian 1 each; Drawing, 1; Theory of Printing, 2.

PRESSMEN. Class IV.—First year, six hours per week.

Grammar, 2; Arithmetic, 1; Geometry, 1; History of Printing, 1; Drawing, 1.

Class III.—Second year, eight hours per week. Same as above with an addition of two hours in the Theory of Printing.

Class II.—Third year, eight hours per week. Grammar, 1; Arithmetic, 1; Theory of Machinery, 1; Chemistry of Printing and Drawing, 2; Theory of Printing, 2.

Class I.—Fourth year, five hours per week. Theory of Machinery, 1; Drawing, 2; Theory of Printing, 2.

During the last two years of the regular course the students are taken to some of the largest typographical institutions to study and to become acquainted with the different systems of typographical arrangement. In Leipzig and Berlin are schools for journeymen where they can receive instruction in all the specialties of composition and presswork and also in every art and trade connected with the printing business.

In learning of the history of these model trade schools, I find my idea confirmed, that such schools can only then prosper when organized employers and employees in one body take care of their apprentices. Strikes of a large extent have always brought the German schools to the verge of ruin.

A DAY IN A PRINTERS' TRADE COURT.

The most annoying outgrowth of the present state of war between the employers' and journeymen's unions of the printing trade is the suspension of the ancient right of freemen to be tried in open court when any complaint is made against them. Journeymen, as well as employers, can at any time be outlawed or fined without having an opportunity to defend themselves or of meeting their accusers eye in eye. Employers can discharge men and put their families in distress without compunction. Tradeunions can fine employers without even telling them who the accusers are. Journeymen can be ostracised, or—as it is called in the trades—blacklisted; and employers can be boycotted, although the former and the latter mean nothing more or less than capital punishment in the business sphere of life.

The German printers, in due consideration of the indelible

truth that such a state of club-law and star-chamber justice is unworthy of civilized people, have established common trade courts. These courts have entirely done away with the union lynch law and the bosses' arbitrariness with their hateful appendages—the office chairmen and walking delegates. Trade courts are established in every printing center and consist of from two to five employers and an even number of employees. The trade organizations of each district supervise the election of the court, and the Guild members of the district elect their judges directly, each class for itself. The courts constitute themselves by the choice of an employers' and a journeymen's chairman, who act in conjunction as presidents when the court is in session.

During the year 1898-99 the trade courts decided 144 cases. Of these 144 cases 78 were decided in favor of journeymen and 10 in favor of the employers; 14 were settled, 4 dismissed and to 5 jurisdiction was denied. Fourteen cases remained undecided and were brought before the High Court of Appeals, where 8 cases were decided in favor of the journeymen and 5 in favor of the employers. Seven judgments were reversed by the same High Court. In addition to this, the members of the trade courts settled 32 cases as individuals without being in session.

According to these results seven-tenths of all cases were decided in favor of journeymen, and 19 complaints from their side remained undecided on account of a tie, which means that employers and journeymen held a different view of these 19 cases which went in appeal. The reason of this apparent partiality of the courts to journeymen, as given to me in private conversation, is this: The men know every in and out of the Common Rule, while employers hardly ever take the trouble of reading it carefully—a phenomenon which is also noticeable in America. Beside this I have often heard it affirmed that the new era in German printerdom is marked by a general resurrection of that sense of justice in human nature which even a century of arbitrariness in the dealings between labor and capital could not eradicate.

Let me now give some typical cases without using the names of the different parties.

Case 1. Brown demands a week's wages on account of dismissal without notice. Argument: Plaintiff gave due warning of two weeks of his intention to leave. In the first week he made use of his privilege to go out one hour every day to look for another position. On the last day of the first week of the legal time of warning, his employer refused permission on the ground that some particular work had to be finished. Brown declared that in that very hour he was to meet his new employer and left without permission, whereupon the firm discharged him. Decision in favor of Brown. (The argument in favor of this decision, though interesting, is too long to be printed here.)

Case 2. Brown, Gray and Blue demand the scale price after they had struck. Argument: Plaintiffs have worked about six weeks on a book at a price offered by the firm. They then discovered that the stipulated price was not in accordance with the common scale. The firm refused to pay the scale; the men struck, and their attorney appeared before the trade-court without any proofs. The firm attempted to justify its course in writing. Decision: Complaint dismissed. Argument: The Court was incompetent to decide for want of sufficient proofs from either side. Moreover, plaintiffs acted illegally by striking without first calling for the good offices of the trade-court. The Court doubts the loyalty of both parties, and refers the case to the Executive of the National Guild. (Private arrangements will not work where there is a common rule.)

Case 3. A foreman sues in May, 1898, for 188 marks for overtime made from January, 1897, until January, 1898. He claims this amount after having been discharged. Decision, against plaintiff. Argument: Plaintiff should have sued before he left: and, it is proven that he had made a private arrangement with his firm to work ten hours a day, instead of nine, as per common rule. A man who does not abide with the rule is not entitled to the protection of the Court.

II.—ADDRESS TO THE TYPOTHETÆ.

Early in the year of 1898 the president of the Association of American Employing Printers, known as the Typothetae, published a letter in which he admitted the deplorable fact that competition in conjunction with tradeunionism had reduced the profit of the printers' trade to such a low degree as to make it a burden instead of a benefit to its devotees. As the gentleman stated "that there is a communion of interests between employer and employee," I thought it timely to begin an agitation in favor of my old plan to combine the Employer's and Employee's tradeunions into one body under one constitution, the same as the German Printers had done a few years previous to this. The "Inland Printer" readily opened its columns for this purpose, and I thought it advisable, in the furtherance of my cause, to reprint in this book a number of the articles which I wrote on the subject.

The deplorable condition of our honorable craft cannot grow much worse. I daresay, the trade has arrived at the point of despair, and, therefore, I hope to meet an open ear when I seriously ask the American printers to follow the example of their German colleagues, who have since years established lasting peace among themselves and do now stand together in the defence of their birthright. In common do masters and journeymen enforce their self-imposed industrial code; in common they strike, support and reinstate their men; in common they keep up apprenticeship laws and schools. This federation reported, on May 15, 1898, as controlling 647 cities, with 2,030 firms, and 22,468 journeymen. Through a common strike in 1898 it gained more than 600 new firms with 3,000 journeymen, and is now an irresistible moral power in the German Empire, whom no body of non-conformists can withstand. The Guild is fostered by the Government and enjoys the hearty support of the daily press.

The "Frankfurter Zeitung," a leading South German daily, characterizes the efforts of non-conformist printers to perpetuate individualism in printerdom by the following beautiful paragraph, which seems to have been written for democratic America, and not for aristocratic Germany: "In the hearts of the non-conformist printers still lives the haughty consciousness of ancient Lordship, which deems it a degradation of masterdom to treat with labor on an equal footing. It is a change of heart that is urgently needed!"

The report of the German Guild, from which I have taken the above statistics, concludes with the following beautiful sentiment, which I wish to implant into the heart of every American printer: "In our common labor rests the strength and guarantee for the attainment of our much-desired objects. May the committee (journeymen and masters as equals, without a president) stand together for the peace of the trade and the benefit of all!" and there is no reason why we Americans should not follow the course of our German comrades in order to re-establish peace and secure prosperity in our trade. This, gentlemen, is true democracy!

Our breadwinners are not our enemies. That which reduces our incomes, and shatters our nerves, and makes us hate our trade, and takes away our joy of life—that is the prevailing business system of unlimited competition. It may have been a blessing to our people when the country was sparsely settled, but now it is a curse for all of us. Of course, where the sun of freedom shines, as it does in our America, there prosper all the qualities of men, but alas, the evil traits of the human character shoot to seed and stifle the good ones.

Indeed, it seems as if in our good old trade all the evil passions of human nature were set to work to make the liberty of competition a weapon of self-destruction. Let us confess our guilt like men. We are all sinners! Under the caption, "It is business," we have done things that we ought not to have done, and left undone things that we ought to have done. Therefore, there is no health in us, though we have long ago hushed our conscience by saying: "There was Shylock X, Y, Z, who compelled us to make prices which we knew to be bad;" or, "This is a struggle for existence; we must kill Tom, Dick and Harry that we may survive."

But now there is no more room for self-excuse and self-adulation. The bottom under our feet is giving away. Yet our case is not hopeless. This business system of unlimited competition is our own work, and, therefore, we can undo it. It is not God's work, for He never prescribed rules of business intercourse which are ruinous to His children. It is not nature's work, for nature creating us egotists, gave us also reason to enlighten our self-interest, so that it might distinguish the

transient from the lasting good. No, unlimited competition is the creation of egotism unrestrained by reason. Let us muster up what there is left of reason within our ranks, and restrain this fiend in order to stop him from spoiling the soil which we have to till.

I care not for the silly modern phrases about "the struggle of existence," or the immutability of the law of supply and demand. I say, we can, by common action, limit the competition among us, and adopt such business rules as will secure full scope to every honest endeavor and ample remuneration for large and small printers.

To this end we have in our peculiarly constructed social body but two ways. The one mostly adopted by trades in like position is to form trusts—that is, to consolidate the productive capital of our economic body, in order to arbitrarily control prices and wages. This obliterates our independence and makes clerks of all of us. Don't let us think of it.

The other method of limiting competition among us is to form an association which fixes minimal and maximal prices, the former to protect the craft and the latter to guard the public against extortion. The Typothetæ should adopt this course. It would become the guardian of the income of its members, and also the protector of the public against those Shylocks who, standing on the writ of industrial liberty, rob the trade of its dues and, when they have the chance, confiding customers of their money.

But if the society of master printers wants this desirable end, it must also want the means to gain it. The Typothetæ that "spake like a child, and thought like a child," must become a man "and put away childish things." It must stop posing as a protector of those who prefer not to affiliate with unions, vulgarly called scabs. It need not be a defender of antiquated economic theories, nor of individual liberty; our courts are sufficient for this. Indeed, the Typothetæ as defender of individualism is very much like Don Quixote as defender of virtue running his spear into a windmill or liberating a gang of thieves. To begin with, the employers must recognize the fact that neither the Typothetæ nor the tradeunion is the representative of the whole trade; but that both parties

united in one body are a legitimate power to fix rules of conduct in business as well as prices for labor and printed matter, binding all printers. The title of a united trade, that is, a guild, to do so, rests on the principle of self-preservation. As the United States can enforce the right of eminent domain and set aside the sacred rights of personal property; as the Government can suspend not only the habeas corpus act, but also the command, "Thou shalt not kill," when the conditions vital to its existence are endangered; so can any body of mechanics suspend the prevailing liberty of competition as soon as this very liberty endangers their existence. Furthermore, when individual printers and customers have no fixed rule as to what is just in intercourse, then it behooves the guild of printers to define what is right and wrong for the individuals.

Every great lawgiver and philosopher of mankind has sanctioned the right of guilds to fix the laws of custom, and with such only we are confronted—not with moral laws or laws of State. To cite the oldest example, I call attention to Menu VIII., 41: "A king shall study and protect the peculiar laws of guilds." And VIII., 46: "What may have been practiced by virtuous men that he shall establish as law."

Arriving finally at the question, How is the Typothetæ to enforce its rules? let me merely answer, Where there is a will there is a way. The stubbornness of unions and the haughtiness of leading employers may yet be serious obstacles. But though passion still blinds reason, it is my firm belief that some day we shall have a United States Printers' Guild, as the German printers have theirs, which will settle all questions on prices, wages and business rules. Furthermore, that without taking recourse to State laws, we shall find ways and means to enforce all edicts concerning our material welfare. When no workingman will help the fellow that ruins all of us by cutting prices, and when no electrotyper and no book-binder will assist him in his career of destruction, then, my dear printer, you need no longer sit brooding in your countingroom, not knowing how to keep inviolate your honor as citizen and printer. Then, my good Typothetæists, you will also be able to be liberal to the breadwinners.

III.—THE UNION MINIMAL SCALE OF WAGES.

It has been charged: "The union is a great leveler of individual enterprise." This allegation is as old as modern tradeunionism itself. Ever since the first delegates of united weavers were heard in England in 1794, before a parliamentary commission, this accusation has been made by the followers of the Manchester philosophy, and ever since the rise of industry in America the cry rings in my ears: The unions destroy the spirit of self-improvement and laudable emulation. Yet I have seen American industry grow together with tradeunions from small beginnings to be second to none in the world; and looking over the circle of my personal friends, I can point with pride to many a talented person whom the union could not hold in the working class from which they came. No law can enslave genius. This charge that a minimal scale of wages would be disastrous to industry was in most cases uttered by mere theorists and men who knew nothing about the technical part of their business. Those who had risen from the ranks and faithfully served their time were mostly in favor of a minimal scale. The early history of tradeunionism proves this sufficiently. The 12 George I., c. 34, of 1725, and later on the Spitalfields acts, were enactments to fix minimal wage scales, and were passed mostly on the representations of well-meaning employers. The Spitalfields laws were confined to the silk industries, and they proved so wholesome to industry that almost every other trade petitioned parliament for their extension.

About the beginning of our century one employer asserted before the parliamentary commission: "I have enough knowledge of human nature to know that employers would (without the Spitalfields laws), for the sake of underbidding competitors, reduce wages to such an extent that I would rather give up business than to keep men at starvation wages in a factory which would, just on account of this foolish competition, cease to yield profit."

And at the end of the present century, in 1898, I maintain

that these memorable words of an English employer are valid for our own beloved printing trades. Looking backward upon my forty years of printer's life, I must confess that business was always good when the unions were strong enough to enforce a minimal scale. Then I could figure with a sense of security against the Shylocks in the trade. On the other hand, business always was bad whenever the unions were too weak to enforce a minimal scale. Then, it was no use to hand in estimates, since there were always too many master printers, who, relying on cheap labor, were ready to undertake work merely for the benefit of keeping their business agoing.

Finally, let me ask: Is not the main cause of the present bad state of the printing trade in close relation to the weakness of the unions to enforce a just scale in every prominent printing office in every part of the country? Were every printer in respect to the payroll on the same level, then the aspiring, genial, true-hearted boss would find ample reward for himself and his men. But for the want of a generally recognized minimal scale, the honest and industrious master printers must be glad to accept the prices of the Shylocks in the trade.

If we concede that the main obstacle to the betterment of the printing trades is the inability of the International Typographical Union to equalize the cost of labor in every part of our country, then the question to be answered is: Shall we try to equalize the cost of labor by breaking up the unions, or shall we build them up and strengthen them to equalize wages?

This is the question before the printing trades, and in putting it clearly and trying to answer it, my heart is certainly not, as is often stated, running away with my brain. I do not wish to enlist the employers' sympathies with the laboring classes, but merely ask them to exercise that thoughtful self-control which results from experience, and is sure to impart a healthy tone to our business. I want to arouse that enlightened self-interest which is the mainspring of self-devotion to our good vocation, and which instinctively measures the personal good by the common good. Individual interests are not always identical with common interests, but the common weal is the groundwork of individual weal. And, above all, I want to arouse that patriotism which considers the Stars and Stripes

an emblem of the American standard of life, depending, together with American manhood, on a high minimum scale of wages.

It seems to me that it is nobler for printers to give way to their innate love of vocation and country, than to grope along in the fog of class pride and ruin both. Divided among ourselves, we form the weakest set of business men in America, and all other trades who use our services will, as heretofore, take advantage of our impotence in competition, and continue to reduce our fair share in the yearly net results of the great American balance sheet. Men of capital and education will desert our trade, and types and presses will, in the course of time, be handled by low and vulgar people.

United with our men, and, like the German printers, forming one national trade body for the purpose of increasing the printers' share in the fruits of the national industry, we can stay the curse of over-competition, and compel all other economic groups of our country to respect and pay us as in olden times.

To this end we must encourage the promoters of the union principle in our own trade. The International Typographical Union has not been able to do much in the way of equalizing wages, and the employers hinder the unions wherever they can from becoming useful to the commonwealth. As long as we, by innuendo and unjust preference, encourage non-unionism, just so long shall we hamper the International Typographical Union in generalizing the minimum scale, and just so long shall we employers be handicapped in the race of competition. It is true, the unions have often offended and in many cases tyrannized us, but, remember that we compel the men to treat us like enemies, and that harsh and obnoxious union rules are nothing but war measures in the present struggle between labor and capital.

If the question is asked: Is there no way of bringing competition among printers within the bounds of reason, other than make every printing office a card office? I plainly answer, No. Some employers hold that simple agreement on prices in local *Typhothetæs* is sufficient to exclude or limit the dividing principle of competition. I do not believe it. All will

agree in meetings on good prices and business custom, but none will act accordingly. For the curse of the prevailing principle of individualism is that one Shylock in a trade can compel all gentlemen of the same vocation, against their will, to act like vampires.

Others say: Let us form trusts! They, indeed, may gain absolute control over wages and prices, but I think I speak for most printers when I answer: We do not want to be clerks holding shares instead of types and presses in our possession!

Let us maintain our modest independence and take for our guide the dictation of unbiased reason, overlooking the whole of our economic, social and political situation, which can be expressed in an epigram, as follows: *The cost of labor is the natural limit of competition.* And then join hands and build with the International Typographical Union in its endeavor to fix a living price of labor in every town and village of our country. Thus the despicable intrigues of local unions and employers for small individual advantages will come to an end, and the Printers' Guild of the United States will appear before the people as an imposing body of citizens allied to maintain the honorable position of their trade in the public economy.

IV.—THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS AGAINST THY NEIGHBOR.

Some influential master printers, who object to the formation of a Guild, have of late indulged in a Pharisaic way of arguing on the labor question, which widens the breach between the industrial classes. As long as writers on the employers' side know nothing better than to prove that laborers are inferior beings on account of their tradeunionism, there is no hope for the growth of kind feelings between the masters and their employees.

It has been complacently stated that the leaders of trade-unions are designing and unfit men who have spread among workingmen the hallucinations that employers are their enemies. I believe that these allegations are not intended false-

hoods, but merely echoes of opinions expressed by good natured employers who keep themselves in happy ignorance of the laboring men's ways of thinking; therefore, I beg leave to offer some arguments intended to correct the above-stated imputation which rests on a confusion of cause and effect, and which is common to employers who judge from first impression. The labor leader does not make the thoughts of workingmen; but, reversely, the ideas of the workingmen shape the thoughts and acts of so-called labor leaders. Agitators can not enkindle the spirit of segregation which moves workingmen to flock together, like natural matter of a kind, resisting assimilation with other parts of the body politic. Neither are tradeunions groups of men pouting upon their employers for some real or imaginary offence; no, the journeymen printers, at least, frankly admit that, in comparison to mine owners, the American employing printers are real gentlemen in their bearing toward subordinates. In truth, no living person has turned the workingmen's minds toward tradeunionism. About three generations of skilled mechanics and simple factory hands, now moldering in their graves in all parts of the civilized world, have lived and worked in partnership with their employers under the individual contract system, which the employers of the present still recognize and try to enforce by custom and law. Three generations of workingmen have suffered from the effects of this system. The story of the afflictions of their kind has been transmitted to the living workingmen of America, together with the solemn warning: Beware of competition for employment! And the Americans, having eyes to see, ears to hear, and brains to think with, have resolved to abolish competition among themselves.

Knowing the system of individual bargaining with employers to be like unto a rack of torture upon which helpless laborers are stretched, the workingmen want collective bargaining for terms of labor and union contracts valid for all. On this basis they are willing to continue to work in partnership with the possessors of capital. The union contract system requires a machinery for collective bargaining and also attorneys to conclude labor contracts valid for all members of the craft. The tradeunion is the machinery and its officers are the at-

torneys of the wageworkers. Can anything be simpler and clearer than this?

Another serious charge is also often made. It is publicly stated that tradeunionism is sedition, and even the Government is reproached because "it looks on with apparent unconcern, or, if any action is taken by Government officials, it is to aid and encourage this unparalleled assumption of power" (by the tradeunions).

Do the general purposes of the American laborers bear any resemblance to the designs of seditious? In the first place, organized labor wants to maintain the conditions essential to the physical existence of families—food, shelter and clothing. So much even Ricardo allows them. But the American laborers want more—they want to secure the spiritual requirements of human existence. Even the poorest man has greater ambitions than the mere desires of eating for the purpose of propagating his class. But what he longs for cannot be easily defined. Some laborers think a day off a great boon; others want a house in the suburbs. Human intellectual life takes variegated forms. Some prefer civil honor to life and will commit suicide rather than live dishonored. Others deem life without luxury not worth living and sacrifice honor and liberty to gratify their desires. There are nations ready to die for liberty. In short, men of our age value spiritual enjoyments higher than mere physical life, and the laboring classes hold that the gentle fruits of love and religion, of arts and sciences, are just as necessary for their existence as bread and butter. Are American laborers designing seditious because they knock at the doors of society and demand the means to maintain their spiritual life?

Perhaps the laborers employ seditious methods to gain legal ends? Let us see. Laws and customs view laborers as sellers' of merchandise, defining labor as their stock in trade. The institutions of our country accord to two, three or a thousand persons the right to join in partnership, and, like individual business men, to throw their stock in trade on the market or to withdraw it from the market. Tradeunions are partnerships of business men without capital, and they exercise the rights enjoyed by partnerships of business men having capital. The

tradeunions want to bargain for their stock in trade collectively, exactly like partnerships and stock companies. Hamilton says:⁸ "The persons from whose agency the attainment of any end is expected ought to possess the means by which it is to be attained." So do the tradeunions want all the necessary accompaniments of collective bargaining and for union contracts the validity of individual contracts.

The necessary accompaniments of collective bargaining are what narrow-minded employers style an unparalleled assumption of power. As there is no law without compulsion, and as there is no society of two, three or of millions of men without compulsion, so there is no individual or partnership business without compulsion. The employer who says "I don't want anybody to dictate to me in my business" wants to exert this compulsion himself. The tradeunion enforcing a scale wants at least a part of the compulsion necessary for business life. And, in truth, the employer's objections are not at all directed against the necessity of compulsion itself, but only against tradeunions to exercise any part of it.

Does the Constitution of the United States say that employers shall exert the compulsion necessary for business life, and that the laborer shall not? Or has the fundamental law of the nation lodged this vital power of regulating industry with the Federal Government or with the States? No, nothing of the kind. But Madison states:⁹ "A system of government meant for duration ought to contemplate these revolutions (the changes from agricultural to industrial pursuits) and be able to accommodate itself to it." Therefore have the founders of our republic wisely stipulated that certain powers not enumerated shall be reserved to the people.¹⁰ The power to regulate industry is undoubtedly one of those held by the people. And as the method of collective bargaining lodges the power to regulate industry with employers and employees together, so the tradeunions are perfectly legal in exercising as much compulsion as is needed to conclude union contracts.

It is true the tradeunions have often sinned, are still sinning, and will doubtless sin in the future. Madison says:¹¹ "The purest of human blessings (speaking of liberty) must

have a portion of alloy in them," and "possible abuses must be incident to every power or trust." The tradeunions are bands of simple working people, not guided but irritated by the natural teachers of the nation. Whenever they are impelled to common action they will show their character, whether they be cultivated or not. Yet, they are the people—educated locomotive engineers and printers by the side of rough miners and 'longshoremen. Their acts are like their hearts, more or less controlled by reason; sometimes under stress of excitement tending to crime; at other times calm, self-restrained and often sublime in self-sacrificing virtue and Christian charity! Do not call the rough worker a fool who suffers hunger and misery when striking for his hearth and home—in his own way. And when you look over the lists of collections for the sick and needy in union ranks, aye, then you stand before an altar of charity against which the organized and general charities cannot compete.

Who else but the industrious and steadily working element of the people could possibly collect the enormous amounts needed every year for union purposes? Indeed, as the State is no different from its people, but the very organization of the people itself; so the tradeunion is nothing but the very trade itself in an organized form. As the character of a State and its form of government depends on the character of the people, so does the character of the tradeunion depend on the character of its workers. And as the external and internal policy of a State is an expression of the will of its people, so is tradeunionism an expression of the character and will of the working people. Indeed, it borders on blind infatuation when employers pose, as they often do, as patriots intent on saving our country from tradeunion violence, and freemen in a free republic from business compulsions. The light of reason never shines where ill-will degrades the faculties of the soul. Besides, the use of bad language by employers to denote their aversion to tradeunionists is a token of ill-breeding and exerts a pernicious influence on our trade and our beloved country. Throw the modern slang on the pile of rubbish outside the pale of common sense, and allow Christian forbearance and the sense of common justice to keep your hearts and brains, free from

prejudice, in God's own working order. Then you will understand that organized labor wants no rights aside from those which common partnerships enjoy by law, namely, to dispose of its stock in trade—labor attached to the persons of their members—at the best possible terms. With a little psychology you will find that passionate outbreaks of union men are usually superinduced by maltreatment or contempt.

V.—DICTATION AND COMPULSION IN BUSINESS.

The present organization of industry is supposed to rest entirely on the principle of competition. The best possible esprit du corps is imagined to evolve from the emulation which is to heat all hearts, and the best foremen, managers and superintendents are said to come to the surface of the scrambling mass of workingmen. Above all it is fondly asserted by learned individualists and thoughtless laymen, that under the competitive system the generals of industry—those few strong spirits which dominate the operations of each trade and have the direction over masses of working people—are of necessity the best of men, because they receive their high appointment by natural selection. In short, our industrial as well as our political organizations are considered to be the very best on earth, and, consequently, as there cannot be anything better than the best, it is pronounced foolishness bordering on sedition even to hint at improving our economic and political methods.

However, our vain assumptions do not rest on facts. The direction of industry is no more as it was about fifty years ago, with generals who rose from the ranks, but it is with their heirs and legal successors who have derived their title, not from innate worth, but from their legal rights of property in large industrial plants. The sons of the fathers and shareholders have taken the places of the self-made captains of industry, while their lieutenants—the managers and superintendents—derive in far too many cases their commissions through relationship to their wealthy superiors. The nobility of American

industry begins to rest its claim for preference, like the nobility of Europe, on consanguinity and inherited wealth. Distinction is claimed for names which acquired their character through the eminence of ancestors.

Looking backward over two generations of printers in the city of New York, I often ask : Where are the great men who built up the printing trade, and became generals in the craft after they had learned to obey in regular apprenticeship, seven years well and true? Those were the men whom my generation of workingmen looked up to as trustful commanders—who would never do anything which in the end might be hurtful to our trade. They have passed away, and their sons, educated from the top down, are in most cases but reluctant clerks, who succeeded to the command in the printing trades without having learned the ABC thereof. They, perhaps, possess more school knowledge than their fathers, but they lack those sentiments which constitute the craftsmen's pride and bind the master to the laborer. Or, indifferent shareholders have taken the place of the ancient masters by virtue of "natural selection." What are type and presses, apprentices and journeymen to these employers? Merely dividend-making instruments, good to be thrown overboard, if by mismanagement they fail to do this. What are trade custom and craftsmen's pride to them? Nothing but antiquated notions, hampering the flow of dividends.

And these two—the sons of the fathers with inclinations beyond the workshop, and the shareholder with an eye on dividends—have appointed a most unhappy set of foremen, who, if they know what is meet and right, lack the power of doing it. They are censured if they spend money for improvements, censured if they give the workmen their dues; but never praised if they succeed in increasing the profits of a place together with the output—because they might then ask for an increase of salary.

As, in the course of years, the control of the printing plants came into the hands of men who knew little about them, but still made money on the traditions of their predecessors, a motley crowd invaded their domain. There came the hustling agents, who could talk every manufacturer to death, until, for

mercy's sake, they got their printing at rates that left a commission to the drummer and worn-out type to the printer. There arrived an army of Huns, who live in crowded tenement houses and tread the Gordon in daytime, and lodge-rooms in the evening. There hustled along the Messrs. Rush, Push and Overtime, who show what nervous fidgetiness can do on a hot day on a stubblefield. And the whole crowd have ravaged the domain of printerdom to such an extent that a whole-souled printer must either leave the trade or cease to be a gentleman in his intercourse with workingmen and drop all notions of class pride in his dealings with the world. No man can nowadays succeed without condescending to the practice of the lowest tricks of virulent competition. Let us hope that God will forgive us our trespasses in this respect, for we are certainly not responsible for the conditions under which we have to carry on our business! And if there be any leaders in our trade who still resist the ravages of the Hunnish invaders, let them remember that even the most fortified houses must slowly give away, cut down their prices and also the quality of their work.

To increase the difficulties of the craft, that esprit du corps, on which captains of the trade must under all circumstances rely for success in large operations, has been obliterated from the hearts of the journeymen. In its stead there is a mutinous spirit leading to the formation of tradeunions, resisting the compulsion of discipline exerted by the masters and their officers. Natural selection does no longer stimulate emulation and self-reliance seems to have been superseded by a sense of reliance on union strength.

What is the meaning of this concentrated revolt of the workingmen against the rules of business discipline? The final cause of every organization of good men is to secure the vital conditions of the existence of the people. The State is organized to provide for justice, peace and protection; the church has the task to secure the means of spiritual existence; the family regulations exist for the sake of propagation and education; and the business organization provides for the means of subsistence. For these high purposes, young and old tacitly submit to the compulsion of discipline. However, when the

ruling classes abuse these organizations of the people for selfish ends, when the governments ruin their country, as the Ancient Régime did with France previous to the great revolution, and when the rulers in business ruin one fair trade after another, so that the "common lot" suffer want, although they toil day and night, then the people refuse to obey and take the law-making power in their own hands, and, if necessary, use force against their rulers. Thus speaks the High Court of History, and against its sentence there is no appeal. The Creator wills it so.

The American laborers have begun to resist the compulsion exerted by their rulers in business under the same impulse. As Christ advised:¹² "Ye shall know them by their fruits," so the printers declare by their rebellious acts: "You, masters, have almost ruined our fair trade in our fair country—you do not know how to govern the printing trades; we shall resist your compulsion as far as is necessary to secure at least our bread and butter!"—And I repeat: What the over-wisdom of economists does not see, that is clearly understood by the common folks, namely, that the decline of the whole trade in our land of plenty is due to mismanagement of those who govern its labor and capital. Please stop saying : Somebody else did it! That is simply childish!

In consequence of the action of the journeymen we find the printing trades in a state of confusion. The compulsion of discipline is contrarily wielded by labor and by capital. The unions regulate wages, time of labor, apprenticeship and the usages of the craft. The employers regulate types, presses, stock, the custom of the trade in relation to society and fix the prices of printed matter. On the whole, the unions discipline their men very well. The great majority of the employers, however, acting under the idiosyncrasy that liberty requires free sway of competition, manage the prices for printed matter as badly as the productive power of their plants. Indeed, whoever wants to know exactly the mental character of those who govern the printing trades, must call for estimates on a large and promising job; he will find such extraordinary variation of prices that he cannot avoid the charitable conclusion that nine printers out of ten do not know the cost of production. Let

him also hear the testimony of expert printers, where judges sit to hear about contested bills. Then he will know why the business world does not give the printers their due respect.

Of course, instead of improving the government of the masters' domain, the employers make war on the unions and arrogantly demand that the journeymen shall reduce their standard of life for the employers' sake. Labor resents and the trade vacillates between war and anarchy. But there is a hopeful feature even in the most distressing aspect of the situation. Neither employers nor journeymen want to abolish business discipline; on the contrary, both parties grope like blind men for the right way to restrain individual members from hurting the craft. The cry is not for more liberty, but for more law. Employers desire restraint on competition and on tradeunions; laborers want restraints on employers and non-union men. As Webb happily states:¹³ "The customary objection is not directed against compulsion itself, but only against the persons by whom it is exerted, or the particular form it takes."

On this strong trait in the American character we can build up again the shattered ruins of our trade. The same God who permits the drift to sedition to work its way among Americans when their vital interests are endangered by the rulers, has given them an irresistible impulse to establish a new system of government at the moment when they refuse allegiance to the old one. Indeed, in our country, even anarchy is but the searching of the popular soul for better government. Therefore, our case is not hopeless. And it is for the sinners—the employers—to take the initiative in reforming our trade and in redeeming our Alma Mater from distress!

The employing printers can well afford to extend the hand of friendship to their journeymen. Labor, if not driven to desperation, does not attack vested rights, but merely the assumption of capital, that it should have the legal right of exerting exclusively the compulsion of business discipline. Labor does not contend against any statutory law, but merely against the custom of settling the terms of its sale by individual contract. As there is neither a State nor moral law barring labor from changing this hurtful custom, tradeunionism may at present be extra legal, but it is certainly not illegal. The philosophy

of mankind argues also for labor's endeavors to establish a union contract system by the side of present individual contract system. The American employers, however, who conceive the latter to be the essence of liberty, have nothing but the so-called Manchester economy to stand on, and this rests on very bad philosophy.

So the way of the trade out of its predicament seems plain. The legal status of its ruling powers is equal: Employers have the right to dictate the price of labor, and the unions can do the same; masters can refuse to employ union men, and union men can refuse to work with non-unionists. Capital can dominate in trade government when it has the power, and labor can do the same when their unions are strong enough. In union districts capitalists are subject to union domination, just the same as isolated laborers; and labor cannot escape dictation where there are no unions. Capitalists must accept the prices forced on them by the competition of the worst men in their trade; and workingmen must take whatever terms the worst employer may see fit to grant them.

So let the two opposing trade-powers form into one body and exert the compulsion of business discipline by a Common Rule. The very notion that either a master printer or a journeyman could ever "conduct his own business,"—that is, decide for himself under what conditions he will work, is a bare-faced fallacy, anyway. Behind the estimate and the labor contract of the individual there is always somebody to dictate its terms. The worst printers do this under the present system, and the least respectable members of the craft compel the best ones to follow their course. Let us change this abominable system and give control of our fortunes to the best men in the trade. If a congress of printers declares what is right and meet in the American printing trades, then neither the employers nor the journeymen will dictate, but both will exert the compulsion of discipline, not against each other, but against their common enemy—the unfair competitor. The price of labor is the natural limit of competition.

VI.—THE PRINCIPLES OF ARBITRATION.

The cause of labor—that is, the struggle of tradeunionism for recognition by the common law—suffers in America more from political swaggerers and blind zealots than from those trade individualists who want the spirit of Manchesterdom to sway the common law. One of their favorite schemes is to make arbitration on strike issues compulsory, vesting the verdicts of umpires with the sanction of the law. As ideas of this nature creep up ever and again, and as they have a tendency to “side track” the real objects of organized labor, I wish to point out the principles of arbitration and conciliation, referring students to the greater works on the subject, written by Prof. Luju Brentano, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, and Henry Crompton.

Deep-seated dissatisfaction with the uncontrollable power of the owners of industrial plants over the conditions of labor is the first cause of every strike issue. Arbitration does not remove, but merely tries to ameliorate this, the root of all other evils. It transfers the hated one-man rule in business from the interested employer to a disinterested outsider, whose good intentions are often clogged with ignorance of the intricate questions of piece work, time wages or trade custom. Therefore, the verdict of an umpire always savors of a despot's edict, and though it may bind the will of laborers, it can never appease their hearts. Strikers may accept an arbitrator's verdict, because they promised to do so beforehand, or for some other reason; but they will never abide with this kind of one-man rule though it be wielded by a sage, a high priest, or a philanthropist. Not even the fiat of such high-minded personages as Bishop Potter or the Hon. Seth Low will stand for a common rule which bears moral compulsion with it, because it has the assent of those whose conduct it is to govern. The democratic heart of the plain man of our age revolts against legislation without his consent. Reluctantly the workingman leaves those questions of public policy which he does not understand to his representative. But when it comes to the regulation of

the conditions of labor, then he will assert his birthright of self-government, because he justly thinks that he knows more about his business and what is right or wrong in the workshop than erudite professors.

No wonder, then, that the verdicts of umpires, even of the highest order, are always regarded with suspicion. There is a feeling that neither the rich and well-born, nor those who have risen through acquisitiveness above the common lot, can so change their own self as to feel like persons who spend their lives in the noise and the odors and amidst the dirt of the workshop. What science can impart to people of the well-to-do classes the true knowledge of the state of the body and soul of workingmen whose nourishment consists year after year of such a kind as about \$3 a week will buy; who perform year after year the same manipulation; who brood year after year over the same thoughts, and who are driven by the unholy alliance between Manchesterdom and modern churches to dismal despair in God's eternal justice. Indeed, the most Christian arbitration is but arbitrary. Even though it be garnished with gems of charity, it will not move the doubtful heart of the workingmen. From society they want no gifts, no profit-sharing, no coöperation, no sick or superannuation funds, but simply justice, as they understand it—such limits on business arbitrariness as will enable their class, not merely to vegetate, but to prosper with that of the employers.

When in commercial circles trade disputes arise, they can be quickly settled by arbitration, because there is always a common ground on which the contending parties and the umpire can stand, namely, a contract on the stipulations of which the contractors could not agree. People who do not wish to run away from their obligations will unhesitatingly abide with the verdict of an umpire on questions of interpretation. However, in the great strikes and lockouts which often paralyze industry, the circumstances are in most cases entirely different. Wages and trade custom are generally fixed by brute force exerted either by united labor or by employers in strong positions. Agreements between labor and capital, in the full sense of the word, do not exist; and the peace in American industry is a kind of graveyard peace, with compulsive resignation and

dull subjection to the inevitable nature of things. No figure in the realm of clowns is more comic than that of a stately printer boss who proclaims that he is not going to allow the union to dictate to him, while even the rat shops follow the union law where it dominates as it does in our large cities.

Under these circumstances, strikes and lockouts mostly result from a desire to throw off the yoke of the dictator, be he labor or capital, and their object is to change the future conditions of labor. The issue, then, is never a question of interpretation or arbitration, but one of formulating a new contract, the stipulations of which must undoubtedly be fixed by the principals themselves, or by their attorneys. Even a business man who wants to appease a dissatisfied customer sends a mediator with clear instructions as to the limits of a new contract. Would it not be absurd in such a case to give to the agent full power of attorney? Even so absurd would it be for labor unions to leave the formulation of new contracts to an umpire without fixing his limits. I daresay that this apparent absurdity of the thing in itself is the true reason why we often read in the papers that the answer given to mediating friends counseling arbitration is: "We have nothing to arbitrate;" that is, no contract to interpret. Indeed, it would be better to return to the European system of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and to give the power of fixing wages and prices of goods directly to State officials, than to do the same thing indirectly by the method of private arbitration. Government decisions would at least have general validity, whereas the verdicts of arbitrators would only affect good employers, while bad ones would take advantage thereof and by cutting prices increase the hardships of the better elements of each trade.

If finally we examine the interesting history of arbitration in England, Germany and France, we will find that experience confirms the above remarks almost in every case. Wherever there was a recognized agreement between labor and capital, and whenever both factors held the same assumption as to the basis of wages, arbitration proved to be successful in preserving the industrial peace. Even so slippery a common ground as the assumption that wages should be raised or lowered ac-

cording to the market price of the goods produced therewith, made it possible for the courts of arbitration, founded by Mr. Mundella and Judge Kettle in England, to succeed in preserving the peace. Any question of price could then easily be brought under the common rule, and thus be satisfactorily adjudicated upon. On the other hand, wherever questions of interpretation and contract making were hopelessly mixed up, there arbitration, in the long run, missed its goal. The mixture of the two distinct functions of legislation and adjudication has always worn out the patience of the parties concerned. Successful arbitration has never depended so much on the verdict of an umpire as on the personality and the conduct of the arbitrator. Oftentimes even trifling shop questions agitate whole trades and threaten through their cumulative tendencies to spread misery among thousands of workers. Then broad-minded and large-hearted men, for pity's sake, condescend to arbitrate on trifles, for example, on such a silly question as "Whether or not a printing office with one or two linotypes is a machine office?" With charming manners they begin their self-imposed task by bringing the inimical parties together to talk over their disputes. Employing with gentleness and kindness the manifold arts of diplomacy, these arbitrators, with a deep insight into human nature, hush the employer's insolence and move the poor man's stubbornness. Thus paving the way for successful collective bargaining between employers and laborers, they do not end quarrels by pronouncing a sorcerer's fiat, but by teaching labor and capital how to conclude union labor contracts, and how to overcome that fruitful source of misery in industry—the strikes and lockouts for sentimental reasons.

Thus it seems that arbitration is not, as is often said, the solution of the labor problem, but a stepping-stone towards a form of industrial organization in which society can better than heretofore solve its problem of self-maintenance. On the floors of the courts of arbitration, in charge of sensible men, the representatives of labor are met with respect. The committees of employers drop even the air of social superiority. Both parties discussing their mutual complaints and the means on hand to settle their trade difficulties, substitute almost

unconsciously a moral order of industry to take the place of arbitrariness in workshops. Employers, submitting to arbitration, cease to "dictate," and workingmen seeking conciliation cease to "strike."

The result is mutual consideration instead of intractableness and fierce pride, and the Courts of Arbitration become the meeting places of the buyers and sellers of labor. Settling strike issues in this way means collective bargaining for the future price of labor and mutual settlement of the essential conditions for the actual transfer of this precious commodity.

Thus society apparently favors arbitration as a scheme to teach the industrial classes how to extend the modern contract system from one that merely binds individuals to one that binds also unions of employers and of laborers to common duties. As the individual contract system advanced civilization, inasmuch as it enabled one man to rely upon the promises of another, so will the union contract system be the beginning of a still more prosperous era, because it will enable the productive classes to rely upon each other and thus secure what society needs most: steady and reliable production of its necessities, and union guarantees for individual honesty. The unions will compel the individuals to do what is right.

The object lesson from the above is in short this: Never refuse to go to arbitration if you can get a sensible umpire, because it paves the way for the future union contract system; but do not rely on it and resist all attempts to give to the verdicts of umpires the force of judgments. Rather perfect the national trade organizations to become fit for collective bargaining and then make them the legal machinery of society for the conclusion of union trade contracts.

American tradeunionism, at present resting on the principles of home rule, is not yet in a shape to take any steps beyond this; and all schemes of me-too-laborers and enthusiasts are but ignus fatui dancing on the inherited morass of false democracy. The union contract, that is, the common rule instead of the one-man rule in business first—everything else later on!

VII.—THE SHORTER WORKDAY.

FALLACIES AND ARGUMENTS.

One of the union arguments in favor of the shortening of the normal day by one hour is that this would employ more workmen. The notion lying at the bottom of this *argumentum a priori* reminds me of the notorious figment of the orthodox political economy of the existence of a predetermined wages fund, which led the industrial world during nearly seventy-five years to believe that it was impossible for tradeunions to bring about any permanent rise of wages.

As the celebrated economist, J. R. McCulloch, declared early in the XIX. century that "wages depend at any particular moment on the magnitude of the capital appropriated to the payment of wages compared with the number of laborers . . . laborers are everywhere the divisor, capital the dividend," so do many union writers assert that the number of laborers employed depends on the total number of working hours—laborers are the divisor, working hours the dividend. This fallacy is so strong that some good union men publicly declared that the intention of their proposal to reduce the hours of labor is, to create opportunities for the employment of more workingmen at the same output. Sidney and Beatrice Webb say: "Coming now to the doctrine of supply and demand, we see that any attempt to better the strategic position of a particular section . . . will be universally condemned. (Devices of this nature are) inconsistent with the democratic interest in favor of opening up the widest possible opportunity of every citizen, but it is hostile to the welfare of the community as a whole."¹⁴

The aversion of master printers to the nine-hour day comes from a similar sophism. They consider a reduction of the working hours equivalent to an increase of wages, erroneously thinking that the value of labor depends on the number of hours worked at a stated cost. In their case the total number of working hours is the divisor, and the payroll the dividend, the quotient the value of labor.

The common error of these people rests on the supposition that in each case the divisor and dividends are fixed quantities. Wages are paid week by week, just like salaries and yearly dividends from the current income of each business house; so there is no predetermined wages fund for a fixed number of laborers to divide among their number. Journeymen are put on or off week by week to do the current work, the flow of which depends on circumstances much beyond the control of the trade. So there is no fixed number of working hours in the printing business of America to be divided among as many journeymen as they can be divided by 60 or 54 hours a week. And finally master printers ought to know that the payroll does not signify the value of the labor paid by it, but only its purchase price, and that the total value of the labor purchased does not increase or decrease as the sum total of the payroll is divided by 54 or 60 hours. There is no more fragile or uncertain thing than a journeyman's day's work! Though his purchase price is fixed by union or individual contract, the intrinsic value of what employers get for the amount of the payroll depends on the quantity and quality of the output and is defined by figures on the credit side of the printing account.

As the science of political economy has sobered and long ago stopped building anti-union theories on the assumption of a wages fund, so I hope that union men and *Typothetæ* printers will avoid the "cocksureness" of their mathematical demonstrations in the discussions now going on about the reduction of the number of daily working hours. Mathematics cannot answer the question whether the normal day shall consist of eight, nine or ten hours; nor does a computation of this or that kind increase or decrease the intrinsic value of hired labor. The facts lying beyond the figures on the surface—that is, the causes of which the figures in the ledger are a result, must be examined in order to arrive at sound conclusions.

Doubtless there are many manufactures in which any reduction of the working time is equivalent to an increase of wages. But during the long struggle of the English workingmen for the nine-hour day several Parliamentary Commissions and many good producers¹⁸ have stated what I maintain after thorough investigation, namely, that in the great majority of

skilled trades the production of each business does not decrease in proportion to the reduction of the time of labor; but, on the contrary, that the output frequently increases, especially in the trades of the higher order, such as the printing business.

THE FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE THE VALUE OF LABOR.

Let us try to find the causes which give intrinsic value to labor bought at fixed tradeunion rates. To this end we must give up our theoretic hobbies and examine real life in the printing offices around us. To begin with, there is the celebrated firm of Rush, Push & Overtime, known by everybody in the trade. They are hustlers; two type-setting machines are worked by three shifts, every day twenty-four hours; and six presses bought at second-hand are run with a day and night gang of men. Thinking close supervision the best means of "speeding up" men and machines, they have a day and night superintendent with day and night foreman and assistant foreman for each room, who, of course, are all in some way related to the firm, a qualification which is considered better than typographical knowledge. They buy only one font of every new series of type, and hence continually hunt for sorts, leads and spaces. Every conversation with compositors and pressmen begins with "Why don't you do so and so?" and ends in angry words. When a customer comes along, the firm promises everything and anything. They tremble when he smiles or frowns; they tremble when they estimate, and tremble when handing in their figures; and finally in trepidation cut down their price 25 or 50 per cent., while the customer ponders over the items, hushing their conscience by saying to each other: "Well, it keeps us busy." Thus the firm works year in and out every day 12, 14, 15 hours a day, distributing a little while on Sunday mornings; and at the end of every year they find as a result of nameless diligence—some new fonts and an additional second-hand press. What is the value of the labor purchased by this firm?

Next door is the firm of Sloth & Mole. Their principle is: Save material and pinch the workmen. They come early to pick up the type from the floor, before the boy sweeps it away,

and carefully save every piece of metal. Then they quarrel with every man, ending each conversation with the remark that in their time men and boys were better than they are now. They interfere with their foreman from morning till night, stating that in their time this or that was done so and so. The spaces and quads are half a century's accumulation from every typefounder in the country, mixed up with the modern point system, which, of course, is abhorred by the firm, while they gaze upon the linotype as the great red dragon, with seven heads and ten horns, prophesied in the Book of Revelations. The ancient drum cylinder runs 700 or 900 an hour, and is kept together by the dirt of years. Whenever the firm meet a friend or customer, they relate an endless number of terrible stories of modern cut-throat competition, ending each with the phrase: "We don't know how they do it!" and though they get good prices from old friends, they never earn more than the bare means of existence. Old and tired, they shake their heads and say: "Oh, for the good time when we were young." What is the value of the labor bought by this firm?

It is, indeed, useless to argue with printers of this type in favor of a reduction of the normal day. They call me a crank, and every union man a mortal enemy. But I sympathize with old fogies and young botchers; therefore, I would ask their unions to bless them against their will by reducing their time of toil and to throw such a chain of union tyranny around their houses that they cannot harm the craft any longer, as they do now with every job they turn out. As for the financial result of this, my advice? Forsooth, it is all the same whether they work 24, 12, 10, 9 or 8 hours a day, Sunday and holidays—their profit will under all circumstances be a full-faced cipher, and their labor, costing 30 cents or so an hour, will never have any value whatsoever.

It is radically different with the firm of Brains, Plan & System, which, thank God, has branches on every printing-house square in the United States. If these men were soldiers they would be Colonels and Generals, of the highest order, who always organize their men and material before they enter upon a campaign. This firm employs union men, not because they like the union policy, but because they know that the best

men are in the union, and that the cheapest labor is the dearest in the end. Their office is on the point system, their job cases are full, there is a system of regular distribution, and they hate picking for sorts or wasting time in searching for mallets, chases and quoins. So, though they are doing very much work their office looks as if nobody were busy. When they start a gang of men on a paper or a book they say: "Now, before you do anything, get your material in order," and after some time, without bustle and noise, there comes the proof! They ask a fair price for their work and complacently allow any higgling customer to go to Rush, Push & Overtime. Thinking that much foolish competition is going on among the members of the craft, they formed the Typothetæ, where they evince much public spirit in telling others how not to figure, what jobs to avoid, etc. And when the year is up the bookkeeper shows not only a clear profit reinvested in modern machinery, but also a surplus cash account. If you examine this, then you will prove the value of the labor they buy from the union.

These are the men to whom I wish to speak and whose ear to gain I deem an honor. I want to argue in favor of the normal day of nine hours, and speaking from long, personal experience, can assure you that the granting of this request of your men will not increase your cost of labor, but rather tend to increase the output of your business.

After the above pictures from life are in full view it will be easy to see the hidden causes of its auspicious and adverse phenomena. The quantity and quality of work turned out in any given time depends on the disposition of the economic factors of capital, material and labor. Holding in view that I am speaking to intelligent master printers who know their business, I will not here dilate on the question of how to properly arrange the material and to organize the working force of a printing office, but merely state that the better the organization of these productive elements the more will tell every effort towards gaining the good will of the journeymen, while, on the other hand, the very best labor cannot help being unsuccessful when under the disposition of the Messrs. Rush, Push & Overtime or Sloth & Mole.—*Sapientia Sat.*

THE SHORT DAY AND THE LABORER'S LIFE.

I would rather direct the attention of employers to the remote mainspring of that energy of labor which all desire and few know how to set in action. It is embedded in the material and spiritual well-being of the laborers. Their bodily health depends not only on the food they eat, but also on the air they breathe; and, alas! printers must inhale during ten long hours every day the leaden dust borne by an oily lampblack atmosphere in dingy places mostly devoid of the simplest sanitary arrangements. Every doctor will agree that one hour less every day of this inhalation of the noxious printing air will do very much toward improving the general health of the blood, lungs and digestive organs of the printers. Do not say one hour a day is but a trifle, but remember that one hour a day is 300 hours a year and 3,000 hours in ten years. Consideration and kindness in this respect will revert to the employers.

More important than the physical is the spiritual well-being of the laborers, the fountain head of which rests in their family life. A man unhappy in his domestic relations will hardly ever care much about his business, and often turn to drink; but a workingman with a pleasant home is always cheerful at his task. Who can measure the spiritual strength which a father fondling his child imbibes from the cup of life in its young and innocent eyes? Who will say how much endurance of adverse things in business; and how much perseverance in attempts to please a hard taskmaster a workingman draws every day from the gentle smile of a loving wife? And what a strong impulse of self-devotion is the ardent desire amply to provide for wife and child, and often also for the old folks? Indeed, that which wages cannot buy and which is dearer than outward skill to all employers: The all-pervading sense of duty, with its voluntary subordination and devotion to vocation: These priceless virtues grow day by day even in the poorest household, although it often seems as if we were, in this respect, a God-forsaken people!

Nothing in the world is more adapted to foster the family life of workingmen than the granting of the nine-hour day. In-

cluding the time of travel to and from business, there are daily 12 and 13 hours of exertion to benumb their hearts against the gentle pleasures of the home. Tired out, yet thinking of their private duties, far too many take to stimulants. Most of the better men with conservative opinions and ample experience, feel too tired even to fondle their children or to attend to social and civic duties. This puts many an important union meeting at the mercy of young and rash enthusiasts or metaphysical economists, while its reliable elements are in bed sleeping directly after a supper merely to rise again with dull faculties. This one hour may be the family hour. It will give to many a chance to move to healthy suburbs, to others an opportunity to enjoy breakfast and supper with their folks. Yes, there will also be a number given to frolics with children or chums, or to playing cards, or to singing and reciting, while but a few may seriously study with a view to self-improvement.

But no matter how foolishly or usefully the workingmen employ this coveted hour, the human soul is made by its Creator so that it requires daily, beside the rest in sleep, a time of rest in playful work. Its energies grow dull if they are always strained and never freely swing with the light breezes of life. Give the laboring men ungrudgingly the hour for recreative diversion, and the relief after labor derived from it will sharpen the minds that think for the employers, and strengthen the hands that skilfully move for the masters.

Another mainspring of the energy of labor is the sense of safety in sickness and distress. The workingmen derive this boon from membership in friendly societies and tradeunions by the method of mutual insurance. They ought to have some time to attend to these and other common interests. Let me ask the employers to judge of these things as if they were workers themselves, or in the light of the experience kindled by the history of civilization. In all ages human beings have followed some lofty ideals from the realization of which they hoped for an improvement of their conditions in life. Whatsoever the form of these ideals, their followers have willingly sacrificed their treasures and lives for them. The ideals of the people of our time cluster around the spirit of solidarity. By economic associations the Fourth Estate hope to endow modern

liberty with tangible and real values. Benevolent societies and tradeunions are to the workingmen of our age institutions for the pursuit of that happiness, which the spirit of solidarity imparts to human life in humble spheres.

Therefore, do not, like a deceased colleague of mine, put the emblem of the union under your feet, but remember that all institutions inspiring men with the belief that they are secure in life and death brace up their courage and, therefore, should be treated as serious objects of the fostering care of society and State. Laborers have fine ways to punish despisers of their ideals, or petty tyrants in the garb of foremen who endeavor to repress the spirit of self-reliance which grows from that of solidarity. They unconsciously or consciously can "adulterate" the article labor which you have to buy from their unions; or they can "lead out" or "spread out" the time for which you dearly pay. Is there anything more wretched in a printing office than the passive resistance on the part of its chapel members against a foreman or boss? Rather, meet the International Typographical Union with a cheerful smile, and the granting of this request of a nine-hour day will give renewed energy to the men when assembled to work for their employer!

This course recommends itself from a simple business consideration. If you have an important customer you are always willing to put up with his individual idiosyncrasies. Do the same with the laborers, who through the payroll are most important customers. Sure enough, most of the members of the Typothetæ consider the whole union business an aberration of the popular mind, and a dangerous one, at that. Let me tell them, that what moves the popular soul in our age is something more than a Manchester egotist can grasp, especially the demand for a shorter workday. The wish to shorten the time of labor animates at this moment the workingmen of the whole civilized world, and is stronger than their desire for higher wages. It takes the place of all former political and social aspirations of the Fourth Estate. The shortening of the work-day has become a passion with the rank and file of industry; by this device all trades hope to improve the condition of their members and to elevate their moral and intellectual standard.

England had to give way after a fierce struggle with united labor lasting almost thirty years. Impoverished Germany has the nine-hour day. And we, citizens of the land of milk and honey, under the Stars and Stripes, are, in this respect, behind the monarchies of old Europe! The very thought of this is revolting!

Remember this, good *Typothetæ*, and do not think that you can build a dyke against this tidal wave of progress. Indeed, it is more business-like to submit gracefully to what you may consider an evil than to do the same in an angry spirit. Surely the time will come for each of you to find that the unions have built better than they knew. The instituting of a legal minimum and a normal day is the foundation of a strong wall to be built by the organized printing trades of the future against further degeneration through overcompetition!

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

FIRST BOOK.—THE BURIAL OF THE APPRENTICE.

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|---|---------------------------------|
| ¹ Heb. 12, 5. | ²⁵ June 17, 1791. |
| ² 2 Tim. 3, 16. | ²⁶ Matth. 28, 20. |
| ³ Ps. 25, 10. | ²⁷ Jas. 5, 4. |
| ⁴ Wealth of Nations, X., 2. | ²⁸ Mark 4, 16-17. |
| ⁵ 1 Tim. 5, 17-18. | ²⁹ Rom. 3, 12. |
| ⁶ Rom. 4, 4. | ³⁰ Luk. 19, 42. |
| ⁷ 2 Tim. 2, 6. | ³¹ Rom. 3, 17. |
| ⁸ Luke 21, 33. | ³² 2 Pet. 2, 18. |
| ⁹ Ps. 128, 2. | ³³ 1 John 3, 11. |
| ¹⁰ Zach. 8, 16-17. | ³⁴ 1 Cor. 14, 33-40. |
| ¹¹ Eccles. 38, 25-34. | ³⁵ Ps. 85, 10. |
| ¹² 1 Tim. 4, 6. | ³⁶ Wisd. 1, 5. |
| ¹³ Wisdom 8, 1. | ³⁷ Matth. 15, 19. |
| ¹⁴ Jer. 4, 19. | ³⁸ 1 Cor. 13. |
| ¹⁵ Ps. 130, 3. | ³⁹ Exod. 20, 17. |
| ¹⁶ Ps. 131, 1. | ⁴⁰ 2 Pet. 2, 1-3. |
| ¹⁷ 1 Cor. 13. | ⁴¹ Gal. 5, 13-15. |
| ¹⁸ Eccles. 38, 33. | ⁴² Gal. 6, 7. |
| ¹⁹ Rev. 18, 22. | ⁴³ Hab. 1, 3-4. |
| ²⁰ 1 Pet. 5, 10. | ⁴⁴ Luke 18, 11. |
| ²¹ Matth. 20, 1-16. | ⁴⁵ Matth. 18, 32. |
| ²² Mic. 3, 5. | ⁴⁶ 1 Cor. 13. |
| ²³ Matth. 20, 16. | ⁴⁷ 1 Cor. 4, 13. |
| ²⁴ 1 Chron. 4, 14, 23; Nehem. 3, 31; Herod vi., 60; Plutarch, Numa 27; Livius ii., 27. | ⁴⁸ Isa. 63, 3. |
| | ⁴⁹ 1 Cor. 9, 13. |

SECOND BOOK.—ON THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF TRADEUNIONISM.

I.—THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND TRADEUNIONISM.

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| ¹ Heb. 11, 1. | book frequently called the Bible of Materialism. |
| ² Discourse on the Origin and Bases of the Inequality Among Men, 1753.—The Social Contract or the Principles of Political Rights, 1762.—Letters from the Mountains, 1762. | ⁷ Fisher Ames' Works, II., 115. |
| ³ Essays on Privileges, 1788. | ⁸ 2 Tim. 2, 17; 2 Pet. 2, 18. |
| ⁴ An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. | ⁹ Fisher Ames' Works, II., 371-379. |
| ⁵ Fisher Ames, Laocoon. | ¹⁰ 2 Tim. 2, 17. |
| ⁶ The Système de la Nature, 1770, a | ¹¹ 2 Thess. 2, 11. |
| | ¹² Isa. 55, 8. |
| | ¹³ Ps. 118, 22. |
| | ¹⁴ Fisher Ames' Works, II., 358. |

II.—THE ERRORS OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

¹ The Social Contract, III., 15.

² 1 Cor. 12, 12.

³ 1 Cor. 12, 4-5-6.

⁴ 1 Cor. 12, 25.

⁵ 1 Cor. 12, 28.

⁶ 1 Cor. 12, 26.

⁷ Industrial Democracy, 26, 36.

⁸ Federalist.

⁹ A good book for this purpose is: On the History and Development of Guilds and the Origin of Tradeunions, by Prof. Lujo Brentano, 1871.

¹⁰ The History of Tradeunionism, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 1896.

¹¹ Matth. 10, 16.

¹² Luke 18, 11.

¹³ Liverpool Stonemasons, 1846.

¹⁴ Ps. 119, 116.

¹⁵ William Newton was born in 1822; regularly apprenticed at the age of 14; worked in London 1840, where he became foreman; after his dismissal, he devoted himself entirely to the organization of labor, and held several public offices. Died 1876.

¹⁶ William Allan was born 1813; apprenticed to an engineering firm of Glasgow. Worked as journeyman, 1835, at Liverpool, where he joined the union. Became general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, 1847; died in the office, 1874.

¹⁷ The "New Unionism" owes its elaboration mostly to Newton, Allan, Applegarth, Guile and Odger, who were

the general secretaries of the leading trade bodies having at that time their general headquarters at London.

¹⁸ Industrial Democracy, 41.

¹⁹ Same, p. 94.

²⁰ Federalist, 68.

²¹ An Introduction to the Constitutional Law of the United States, p. 318.

²² Ps. 140, 12.

²³ John 7, 51.

²⁴ Francis Place is the first and most prominent of all English labor leaders. Born in 1771, he became a breeches maker and proprietor of a tailor-shop at Charing Cross. The business was turned over to his son in 1818, so that he might devote himself entirely to the cause of labor. He was chief organizer of the Westminster Reform Committee, which in 1809 defeated both great political parties and elected labor candidates to Parliament. His shop remained the meeting place not only of all labor agitators, but also of prominent statesmen of the time. It was mainly through the efforts of Place that the Act of 1832 was passed, which granted to tradeunionism the right of existence, establishing the right of collective bargaining and the power to strike. Place was a pupil of Bentham and James Mill, and as such a radical individualist. In his older days he opposed the spread of socialism among the laborers, and took part in the reconstruction of municipal governments which followed the Reform Bill. Died 1854.

THIRD BOOK.—A PLEA FOR THE FORMATION OF A MORE PERFECT UNION, ETC.

¹ Federalist 35.

² Federalist 52.

³ Federalist 54.

⁴ Federalist 53.

⁵ Federalist 68-70.

⁶ Federalist 78.

⁷ 1 Cor. 13.

⁸ Federalist 23.

⁹ Federalist 41.

¹⁰ Const., Art. X.

¹¹ Federalist 41.

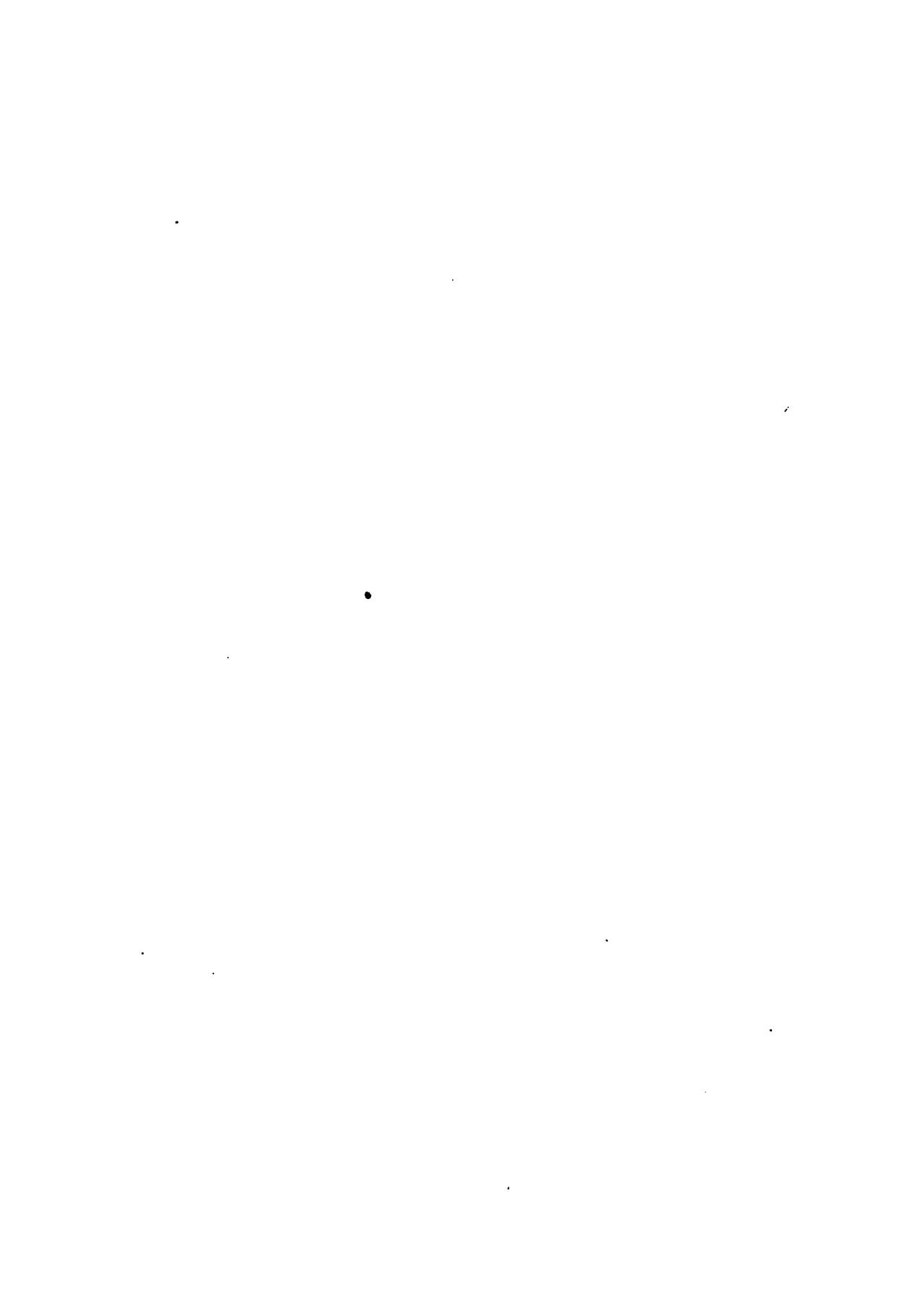
¹² Matth. 7, 16.

¹³ Industrial Democracy, 217.

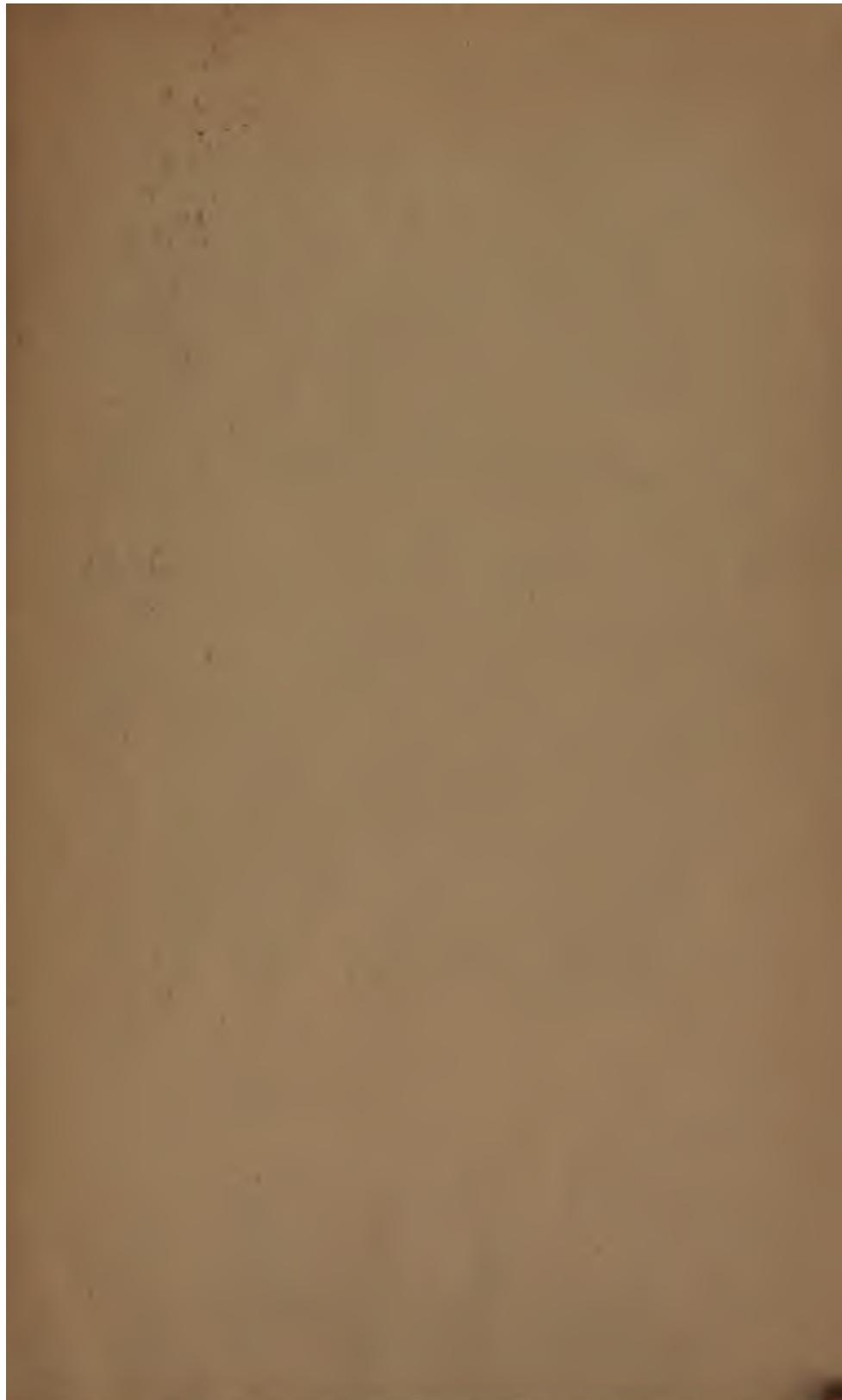
¹⁴ Industrial Democracy, 810.

¹⁵ Brentano, English Tradeunions, II., 87.

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